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Number 4

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

PIPES O' PAN

The spirit of Horace succeeds in getting itself (or himself?) reborn now and then and here and there as the generations go by. It is the spirit of delicate appreciation of life and of a gentle and whimsical humor in the expression of it. Such a spirit is the fruit of the classical tree, which has its roots in the life of a time when the world was young and joyous, simple and unashamed. It is, indeed, sophisticated, but its sophistication has not left it cynical. We saw a glimpse of the true Horatian whimsey in our American Eugene Field and his "Echoes from the Sabine Farm"; and those of us who find daily pleasure and something more in the perusal of the famous "Line" think we have discovered in B.L.T. a more than faint resemblance to Q.H.F.

Among the contributors to the "Line" some of us had noticed a certain "Pan" and had been chuckling over his anonymous pipings, wondering who this delightful pagan might be. And at the Louisville meeting our curiosity was gratified. For the program committee had for once wisely decided that Pan is not out of place in the company of Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, and other such "high-brows," and introduced him to us under the modern-sounding name of Keith Preston, of Northwestern University. His paper's modest and colorless title, "Translations," resolved itself into a refreshing half-hour of entertainment. The "Translations" which follow are selected from those which Dr. Preston

read to us and reveal his own kinship to the classical spirit which he has recalled.

As I personally find Horace more easy to mar than to reproduce, I have attempted only one translation of *Odes* ii. 8, "To Barine," *Ulla si iuris tibi peierati*. I have called it "Fair Is Foul and Foul Is Fair."

If broken vows would make, my Flossie,
Your teeth less white, your nails less glossy,
I might believe this stuff about
How all our sins will find us out.

You give your promise, "hope to die,"
And grow more lovely as you lie;
And when you walk the avenue
We see the whole town after you.

You pledge the plot where mother lies,
The stilly night, the stars, the skies,
The blessed gods that live away;
You lie and lie and make it pay.

Yes, Venus chuckles in her sleeve,
The Graces laugh as you deceive,
Fierce Cupid whets his darts and smiles.
(He makes munitions for your wiles.)

Then, too, the cradle feeds your hopper,
The yearlings flock to come a cropper.
Your graduates can't bear to quit,
Though they have often threatened it.

You scare the pater and the mater,
For fear their lamb will see you later,
And brides keep hubby tied, they say,
For fear you'll whistle him away.

From a Horatian text this nonsense verse on the high cost of living—and its solution.

GOOD CHEER

(Horace *Epod.* 2. 53 f.: *non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum.*)

No guinea fowl (don't dare to ask it)
Shall nestle down in my bread basket,
Till now eupeptic;
No turkey proud shall gobble me
To atrabilious penury,
A sad old skeptic.

I find that hominy and rice
And peas and pulse are very nice,
And cheap besides;
I need no doc to feel my pulse,
Appease my pangs, for none convulse
In my insides.

So—one more thing for me to rime on—
 At simple life I'm simply Simon;
 The feed-man stops by every day
 And so I munch dull care away;
 As so may all of you that see
 This homily on hominy.

The following also has merely a Horatian text:

SONGS OF THE UNDERWORLD

(Horace *Odes* ii. 13. 21 f.: *Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae.*)

Where burning Sappho sings her song
 In Hades, no one listens long;
 The shades all push and crowd, 'tis said,
 To hear Alcaeus wake the dead
 With martial cadences as catchy
 And twice as ancient as *Pagliacci*.

So Horace sang, but now, we fancy,
 He's found how false his necromancy.
 'Tis true that snappy stuff like Al's
 Goes bigger here than Dick Le Gal's;
 But that side Styx all heads are clear,
 There is no bone from ear to ear.
 Those necropolitan élite,
 The plutocrats of Pluto Street,
 Have learned a thing or two, we know,
 From all the clever ones below.
 They know Falernian and Massic,
 How Pegasus once won a classic,
 Ah yes, friend Horace, I dare swear,
 Your Sapphics get a hand down there.

Lastly, I have tried some variations on Horace *Odes* i. 5.

Here's a slap for fickle Pyrrha
 And the thorns her roses wear;
 Pity for the lad that's tangled
 In the meshes of her hair;

Doting fool, his hopes will founder
 When the winds awake that sleep;
 Now the catspaw that caresses,
 Then the black and angry deep.

Happy, thou, to sit in safety,
 High and dry upon the shore;
 Fling thy dripping weeds to Neptune,
 Chase the golden girl no more.

Yet, I fear me, should she sparkle,
 Should she smile again for thee,
 Thou wouldst trim thy shattered pinnace
 And put out again to sea.

The poems of the *Palatine Anthology*, especially those where the conceit has more distinction than the diction, are much more easily dealt with in straight-away translation. I have tried to reproduce this bibulous little gem quite faithfully.

UPS AND DOWNS

(A.P. v. 135.)

Your paunch is round and near the ground,
 Your neck is long and slender,
 The notes that gurgle from your throat
 Are musical and tender;
 I thirst for your companionship,
 My jolly old decanter,
 So full of quips and quaint conceits
 And pleasantries and banter.
 But tell me why, when I am dry,
 And you are full of sherry,
 Your spirits sink the more I drink,
 And ebb as I grow merry.

The following, by Agathius Scholasticus, admitted of the most extreme literalness.

SWALLOWS

(A.P. v. 237.)

All the night I toss and fret,
 With the dawn I half forget,
 But those swallows everlasting,
 Twitter round about me casting
 Tear drops in my waking eye,
 Pushing sweetest slumber by;
 And I weep upon the rack
 For Rodanthe that I lack.
 Cease, ye jealous babblers, cease!
 Let me lose myself in peace.
 'Twas not I, ye know it well,
 Tore the tongue from Philomel;
 Scold that wicked hoopoe sitting
 'Mid the lonely hills or flitting
 Through the wilderness, lament
 Itylus with my consent;
 Let me sleep, to dream, maybe,
 That Rodanthe clings to me.

In this little epigram by Paulus Silentarius (A.P. v. 226) I have altered the point somewhat.

HYDROPHOBIA

Sober men by mad dogs bitten
 With that water-fear are smitten;
 There they ever see, 'tis said,
 Horrid shapes and faces dread.

So, my dear, when first I met thee,
 Cupid tripped me and upset me,
 Wicked little nipper, he,
 Sank a poisoned tooth in me,
 Made me hydrophobic—
Aqua pura brings you back.

These last two are from Martial, a translation, serious, and an adaptation, the reverse.

TO ALCIMUS

(Martial i. 88: *Alcime, quem raptum domino crescentibus annis.*)

Alcimus, lost to thy master, at the dawn of thy young day,
 Now the sod lies light upon you, where you rest beside the way.
 Take from me no gift of marble, stone of Paros, builded high,
 Idle tribute to thy ashes, doomed to topple by and by,
 But the pliant box, the shadows of the close protecting vine,
 And the green, green grass above you, still bedewed with tears of mine.
 Take, dear lad, this simple record of thy loving master's pain;
 With each rising generation Alcimus shall live again.
 When the grim relentless spinner shall have spun my final thread,
 Even so may I be gathered to my place among the dead.

BILL RUN

(Martial i. 79: *Semper agis causas et res agis, Attale semper.*)

Bill used to run for office upon the least excuse,
 Bill ran the State Department, till Bill ran out of juice.
 Then William ran the pacifists, and, running like a rabbit,
 He ran himself into the ground and broke that running habit.

THE VALUE OF THE CLASSICS

The now famous symposium at Princeton on the value of the Classics has already received extensive editorial notice in the *Classical Journal* (November, 1917). The eighteen addresses of varying length actually presented at that meeting, together with 283 written statements from prominent men of a remarkably wide range of callings, and some valuable statistical matter, have been edited by Professor Andrew West and published in book form by the Princeton University Press. For particulars see under "Book Reviews" in the present number of the *Journal*. The editors of the *Journal* feel that this is the most valuable work of its kind that has as yet appeared both as an agent of enlightenment to those

who may be prejudiced against the Classics through lack of information as to their many-sided and practical values and as a matter of interest and encouragement to classicists themselves, who are often called upon to formulate a defense of their position.

Since this book appeared we have felt strongly that it ought to be in the hands of every Greek and Latin teacher, and have suggested to the editor and publishers that a special rate be announced for the benefit of the members of our association and those which are affiliated with it in the publication of the *Journal*. We are accordingly authorized to make the following offer: If 25 names are received from our members a rate of 70 cents net will be made; for 100 names, 65 cents net; for 500 names, 60 cents net. All desiring to purchase the book should send their names to the Chicago office of the *Classical Journal* with as much dispatch as possible. These names will be forwarded to the publishers on or before February 1, and the price will be billed to each purchaser according to the foregoing offer.

We understand also that special pains are being taken by the publishers to bring the book to the attention of educators in general, especially of those who influence the curricula of the schools.

OUR MEMBERSHIP LIST

At our last annual meeting (April, 1917) the Association voted to print for the first time the list of members of our Association. The list was accordingly published in the June number of the *Journal*. The list is by states alphabetically arranged, and the names under each state are also alphabetically arranged with the address of each member in addition.

A large number of reprints from this list as printed in the June *Journal* has been ordered, and many of these are still in the hands of our secretary, Professor Louis E. Lord, Oberlin, Ohio. Any members desiring extra copies of this list may obtain them on application to Professor Lord.

THE CURIOUS ANIMALS OF THE HERCYNIAN FOREST

BY WALTER WOODBURN HYDE
University of Pennsylvania

In the sixth book of Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* is the well-known description of the Hercynian Forest and its curious animals. The author says (chap. 25) that the forest begins at the frontiers of the Helvetians, Nemetes, and Rauraci and extends in an easterly direction parallel with the Danube to the borders of the Daci and Anartes, and then, turning to the north, traverses many nations. He computes its breadth as a distance of nine days' journey and its length over sixty,¹ but adds that no one in Western Germany knows where it ends. In other words, this great forest² comprised the whole northern Danubian region from the sources of the Rhine and Danube in the west to Transylvania and the Carpathians in the east, and loosely formed the northern boundary of Europe as known to the Greeks and Romans. Within it were the forest ranges of South Germany, Austria, and Hungary to the Rumanian border now known under many names—the Schwarzwald, Odenwald, Spessart, Rhön, Thüringerwald, Harz, Rauhe Alb, Steigerwald, Fichtel-, Erz-, and Riesengebirge, Böhmerwald, and wooded Carpathians. The geographer Strabo, who mentions it in several passages,³ identifies its beginning with Southwestern Germany between the sources of the

¹ Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* iii. 3) also gives the same length.

² It was called *Hercynia silvia* by Caesar (*loc. cit.*) and Tacitus *Germania* 28; *Hercynius saltus* by Pliny *Historia Naturalis* iv. 25 and x. 67, Tacitus *op. cit.* 30, and Livy v. 34; *Hercynium jugum* by Pliny *op. cit.* iv. 28; *Hercynia* by Tacitus *Annales* ii. 45; ὄρη Ἀρκύνια by Aristotle *Meteorol.* i. 13. 20; Ὀρκύνιος ὄρυμνος by Ptolemy *Geogr.* ii. 11. 5; Ἐρκύνιος ὄρυμνος by Strabo *Geogr.* vii. 1. 3, 5, etc.

³ iv. 6. 9; vii. 1. 3, 5. His knowledge of Germany, like that of the imperial Roman writers, was imperfect and hardly extended beyond the Elbe. It was chiefly derived from the narratives of the German campaigns of Drusus (12-9 B.C.) and Germanicus (14-13 A.D.) which largely added to the pre-existing knowledge of the country. Strabo's revision of his *Geography* probably took place in Rome, 17-23 A.D.

Rhine and Danube rivers in Baden and the Lake of Constance, and says that it extends on through the Eastern Alps.¹ Aristotle is the first writer to mention the forest, but Caesar is the first to describe it. When the later Roman writers got better acquainted with Germany, the name was restricted especially to the ranges around Bohemia and through Moravia to Hungary.² Other writers continued to have very indefinite notions of the location of the forest.³ The name is of Keltic origin and means "height," and it appears to survive in the name of the tiny village of Hercingen near the Waldsee in Württemberg, and also in that of Harz and possibly in Erz (Erzgebirge).

It has often caused astonishment that so sober a historian as Julius Caesar, the "prince of authors," as Tacitus calls him,⁴ should have been credulous enough to tell the fables about the one-horned deer, jointless elk, and huge ure-ox in these chapters (26-28). How matter-of-fact and unromantic Caesar was by nature is well illustrated by the story told by Suetonius⁵ that the conqueror, while once crossing the Alps from Cisalpine Gaul, spent his time amid that wonderful scenery in composing a treatise on language (*De analogia*). However, it is now fairly well agreed among Caesar scholars that the whole account of the forest and its wonders is merely an interpolation into the body of Caesar's work by some unknown scribe. Thus H. Meusel, the compiler of the *Lexicon Caesarianum* (2 vols., 1887), has recently made a well-

¹ The sources of the two rivers are but eighty miles apart—with Lake Constance between. At Donaueschingen in the Black Forest, where the Danube rises, it is only thirty-five miles from the stream of the Rhine.

² Pliny (*H.N.* iv. 25) says that the "higher parts between the Danube and the forest to the borders of Germany are occupied by Dacians and Sarmatians." Tacitus (*Germania* 28) says that the Helvetians, Boii, and Gauls live between the forest and the rivers Rhine and Moenus, thus referring to the western end; by the Helvetians he means those who had migrated to the German bank of the Rhine. Caesar (*B.G.* i. 5) says a part of the Boii crossed the Rhine and settled in Noricum (parts of Bavaria and Bohemia), i.e., south of the forest.

³ Thus the scholiast on Dionysius Periegetes 286 placed it near the Pyrenees; Diodorus v. 21 and Seneca *Medea* 712 near the Northern Ocean; the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* iv. 640 in the land of the Kelts.

⁴ *Summus auctor, Germania* 28.

⁵ *Vita Julii* 10, 56.

grounded attack on its supposed authorship.¹ Even if we do not accept all his arguments against Caesar's authorship, still the chapters in question contain enough philologically and perhaps zoologically to lead every critical student to suspect them. Consequently they are generally bracketed in recent editions of the author.² We are not, therefore, constrained to follow the interpretation of one of the older commentators, who naïvely concluded that Caesar "zeigt durch den frommen Glauben an die Wahrheit derlei Aussagen, dass er besser auf die Kenntniss der Menschen als der Thierwelt sich verstand."³ For it now seems clear that the words *Huius Hercyniae silvae* at the beginning of chapter 25 indicate that this and the following three chapters were originally written in the margin of Caesar's work as an explanatory reference to the words *loea circum Hercyniam silvam* of chapter 24, and that later, when this note was incorporated into the text, the scribe had to write *quae supra demonstrata est* (chap. 25) to explain their presence, even if no such demonstration had taken place. But we have thereby merely exonerated Caesar from the responsibility of having written the account of these animals. We have in no wise solved the provenience or the meaning of the descriptions themselves.

It is well known that Greek and Roman literature abounds in references to curious animals and tribes of men. India, the Caucasus, the Arabian coast, Ethiopia, and Africa are full of wonders. Most modern scholars have looked upon Caesar's descriptions of the animals of the Hercynian Forest as examples of the same ancient tendency to describe marvelous and impossible creatures.

¹ In *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* (1910), pp. 26-29; similar arguments have been offered by Klotz, *Cäsarstudien*, pp. 50-54. Meusel's argument is the presence of un-Caesarian words and expressions in the suspected chapters: e.g., he believes that Caesar would not have stated the breadth of the forest as a fact (*patet*, chap. 25), but would have quoted it (*patere dicitur*); nor would he have said *demonstrata est* (25. 1), with reference to a matter which had been merely mentioned before (24. 2), but rather *commemorata est*; instead of *sicut palmae* (26. 1), he would have written *genus quodam palmarum* and would not have used *summo* (26. 2) as a noun; again, instead of writing *neque noverunt* (25. 1) Caesar would have written *dicunt* or *tradunt* and would have added as subject *Germani* or *barbari*. His great argument is, of course, that the prosaic Caesar could not have told the absurd story of the jointless elk.

² E.g., that of T. R. Holmes, Oxford, 1914.

³ J. G. Lippert, *Caesar Comment.* (Leipzig, 1835), p. 343.

It will be interesting to examine carefully the chapters of the *Commentaries* in question and see if they are really as marvelous in their contents as they seem, or whether the author had in mind actual existing animals.

THE REINDEER

In chapter 26 is found the description of the *bos cervi figura*—the stag-shaped ox from whose forehead between the ears one horn with palmated branches projected. All authorities since Beckmann¹ and Buffon² agree that this animal is the reindeer—*cervus rangifer* or *tarandus*, *rangifer tarandus*, *tarandus rangifer*—the large clumsily built deer which still inhabits the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions. The wild Scandinavian variety, domesticated by the Laplanders, is typical of the species, while the North American caribou—*rangifer tarandus* or *caribou*—belongs to it. It was still hunted in Northern Scotland in the historical period, and lived in South France in Pleistocene days.

It is well known that Roman writers called unfamiliar wild animals of large size *boves*, "oxen." Thus the elephant was known as the Lucanian ox (*Luca bos*), because it was first seen by the Romans in Lucania in Pyrrhus' army.³ Pliny (viii. 15) called bisons oxen and the rhinoceros was anciently known as the *bos Aegyptius*.⁴ Seals were also called "marine oxen."⁵

Caesar's description of the branched antler with palmated crown—*ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur*—exactly describes the antler of the reindeer. This further statement that the antlers of male and female are the same in form and

¹ *De historia naturali veterum*, Göttingen, 1766.

² *Histoire naturelle*, xxx. 97-98 and n. 1 to p. 97; cf. also Cuvier, "La Règne animal," *Les mammifères*, Texte, p. 524.

³ Thus Varro *De lingua latina* vii. 39 (ed. Müller); Lucretius *De rerum natura* v. 1302, 1339; Silius Italicus *Punica* ix. 573; Ausonius *Epistolae* 15, 12-14; Pliny *H.N.* viii. 6. Both Ausonius and Pausanias (i. 12. 3) say it inspired great terror in the Romans; cf. the terror inspired by the Spanish horses in the Mexicans of Cortez' day; they were regarded "with the mysterious terror felt for a supernatural being" (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, III, chap. iii).

⁴ Pliny viii. 72, viii. 76; Pausanias ix. 21. 2; Festus, in his abridgment of Verrius Flaccus' *De verborum significatu*, p. 270.

⁵ Servius on Vergil *Georgics* iv. 394-95. Both Pliny (ix. 78) and Ovid (*Halieutica* 94) speak of fish as oxen.

size is only a little incorrect. Those of the female are smaller, but the remarkable fact is that the reindeer is unique among deer in having horns in both sexes. The only incredible thing in the whole description is the statement that the animal has only one horn. This statement has led most scholars to look upon the description as one more in the ancient history of the fabulous unicorn—the *monoceros* of classical writers. Pliny (viii. 52) adds another incredible characteristic to the Scythian *tarandus*, stating that it, like the "chameleon" and "thos," changes its color, a statement long ago ridiculed by Rabelais. Let us rapidly trace the story of the unicorn myth and see whether Caesar's reindeer belongs to it.

The unicorn is commonly described as native to India, but in terms which apply to no known beast, for apart from its distinguishing feature, the one horn, it is represented in heraldry as having the head and body of a horse, the hind legs of an antelope, the tail either of a lion or of a horse, the beard of a goat, and cloven hoofs. The earliest account of this strange beast is that of Ktesias in his *Indica* (chap. 25):

In the mountains of India is found the onager or wild ass, which is as large or larger than a horse. His body is white, head red, and eyes gray; on his forehead he has a horn a cubit in length, which is white at the base, black in the center, and red toward the tip. It is one of the strongest of all creatures, and so fleet that neither a horse nor any other animal can overtake it. When it is pursued, it first runs leisurely, but later it increases its speed. It defends itself with its horn, teeth, and hoofs, and often slays many horses and men.

He adds that cups are made from its horn which have the property of preventing poisoning. Aristotle mentions two kinds of one-horned animals, the *oryx*, a sort of antelope or gazelle with pointed horn (hence the name, which signifies "pickax"), to be identified with the two-horned antelope of Northern Africa—the *oryx beisa* of Buffon (perhaps the *algazel* of the Arabs) and the Indian wild ass of Ktesias.¹ Pliny (*H.N.* viii. 30: cf. 11, 106, and 45) also mentions the *oryx* of Aristotle and the Indian ass besides a one-horned Indian ox. He mentions furthermore the fabulous unicorn—*monoceros* (viii. 3)—as an animal having the head of a stag, the feet of an elephant, the tail of a boar, the body of a horse, and one black horn two cubits in length; and he says that the animal

¹ *Historia animalium* ii. 1. 32; *De partibus animalium*, iii. 2. 8.

(viii. 31) bellows loudly.¹ Aelian (iii. 41: cf. iv. 52) quotes Ktesias and says that there is a one-horned horse in India as well as the *monoceros* (xvi. 20), whose local name was *kartazonon*. His description shows that various accounts of the animal's shape were current, for he says that it had a horn which was not straight but tortuous. Strabo, quoting Megasthenes, mentions (xv. 1. 56) the one-horned horse of India which had a deer's head.

Thus we see that the statement originating with Ktesias was taken over by several writers, one after another, and amplified. This is a common procedure among ancient writers. Thus Herodotus (ii. 71) gives the first imperfect description of the hippopotamus. It was copied successively by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 7), Diodorus Siculus, Pliny (viii. 39), and Aelian. These later writers were in a position to correct the original mistake from actual observation or authoritative sources. The one-horned animal is described by all the writers mentioned under five different names—wild ass (onager), oryx, ox, horse, and monoceros. The wild ass is common throughout Eastern and Western Asia. Dr. Porter caught one while hunting—though, of course, it had no horn. It doubtless, like the ox, the horse, and the oryx, got its fabled horn from the rhinoceros. The monoceros was merely a blend of several animals that actually existed, the onager, the rhinoceros, scorpion, etc., to which the fancy of artist or poet added. The story of the unicorn grew apace in modern times. Sir John Mandeville, in the fourteenth century, speaks (*Travels*, p. 298) of the Indian "unicornes," and the seventeenth-century English traveler Purchas tells (*Pilgrimage* [1613], p. 841) how a piece of "unicornes horne" would cure those who had partaken of the poisonous roots of the mandioca. Certain elements were added to the story by the wrong translation of the Hebrew word *re'em* in certain passages of the Old Testament with reference to some large wild animal.² This word was translated in the Greek Septuagint as *μονόκερως* and in the Vulgate as *unicornis* or *rhinoceros*, and thus even in the Authorized English Version as *unicorn*. However, it has nothing to do with the one-horned *monoceros* of the classical writers, as is evident from the passage in Deuteronomy, where, in the blessing of Joseph,

¹ Cf. Solinus *Memorabilia* 52. 39. ² Num. 23:22; Deut., 33:17; Job 39:9-10.

it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of a unicorn"—and not, as the Authorized Version renders it, "the horns of unicorns." This text puts any one-horned animal out of the question. Just what animal is intended cannot be definitely settled. Considering the fact that the *re'em* is spoken of as two-horned and of great ferocity and strength, and was well known to the Jews as a sacrificial animal and associated with oxen, it seems reasonable to conclude that some species of wild ox was meant, perhaps the *urus*. In the Revised Version, therefore, it is translated "wild ox." Out of the wrong translation came largely the idea of the strength and ferocity of the fabulous unicorn.¹ As a decoration of drinking-cups, the old belief in the preventive power of the horn against poison was kept up down to the time of Charles II of England.² The idea of a one-horned animal is also known to other peoples than the early inhabitants of Persia and India. Thus the *kilin*—a beast pictured as having the body of a stag, the hoofs of a horse, the tail of an ox, parti-colored or scaly skin, and one horn with a fleshy tip—is known in China, where it is supposed to appear only when wise and just sages or kings are born to govern and teach mankind.³

The origin of the unicorn in Greek literature, then, must be sought in Ktesias. During his long sojourn in Persia as court physician he had unrivaled opportunities to collect legends, many of which he found crystallized in Persian sculpture, especially at the old capital Persepolis, which he must have visited. Many of his descriptions of monstrous figures of mythology—like the griffin and martichoras—reproduce these sculptures almost limb for limb. Thus in the ruins of Persepolis—Chekl-Menai or Forty Pillars, as the Arabs call it—is a pair of monsters in sculpture guarding the

¹ Isidore of Seville (d. 636 A.D.) says (*Originum etymologiarum libri XX*, xii. 2. 12) that it can beat the elephant in a fight. Long before, Aelian (xvi. 20) spoke of its savage and quarrelsome nature.

² Many books have been written on the unicorn and other fabulous beasts since the sixteenth century; see bibliography by Drexler, in *Roscher's Lexikon*, s.v., "Monokeros"; cf. W. Haughton, *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* (1862), p. 362, "The Unicorn of the Ancients."

³ See *The Middle Kingdom* by S. Wells Williams, I, 342, pl. on p. 342, and references to the unicorn on p. 341, n. 1.

entrance to the palace. Though they have lost their heads, still the fact that similar smaller ones found in the interior are represented as unicorns fighting with lions leaves little doubt that these also represent the same animal, and their shape tallies, with slight differences, with Ktesias' account and must have formed the basis of it.¹ The sculptures themselves were, of course, not the results of pure invention on the part of the artist, but must have rested on certain zoölogical facts known to India, Persia, and even to Greece. As has already been said, the real basis of the marvelous unicorn must have been the rhinoceros, which is the only one-horned animal known to zoölogy. Thus the rhinoceros, either with one horn or two—one being directly behind the other—on its snout, was known even to the Assyrians, for we see it sculptured on an obelisk of Shalmaneser found by Layard at Nineveh, which represents it along with the Indian elephant and the Bactrian or Asiatic double-humped camel. The Greeks were also acquainted with the rhinoceros. Strabo (xv. 4. 15), in his account of the Arabian coast, accurately describes it as "little inferior to the elephant," and again as of the size of a bull, shaped like a wild boar, with one horn in front for defense. He even mentions the buckler-like folds of its skin. It was first exhibited at Rome in Pompey's triumph (Pliny viii. 71). Pausanias (ix. 21. 2) mentions the two-horned African variety, while Pliny (viii. 71 and viii. 29) and Aelian (xvii. 44) describe the one-horned Indian type. The poet Martial, in his epigrams on the shows of Domitian (ix and xxii), speaks of the one- and two-horned varieties. The latter appears on the medals of that emperor. The one-horned rhinoceros is still found in India, while the two-horned is also found in Eastern Asia. Knowledge of this animal would, in conjunction with Ktesias' account of it, foster the idea of a unicorn among the Greeks. Possibly the myth was also helped on by the tusk of the narwhal (*monodon monoceros*), or sea-unicorn, which is merely the prolongation of its incisor tooth, which projects like a horn. Such horns might have been brought home by travelers as curiosities. Again, it is possible that the

¹ See Heeren, *Asiatic Peoples*, 1854, I, pp. 117 f., pp. 98-99; and drawing of it in Niebuhr, *Reise nach Arabien*, Pls. XX A and XXIII; also Sir Robert Porter, *Travels*, Pls. XXXI and XXXV.

passing glimpse of various large antelopes gave rise to the idea of a one-horned animal, since in profile their long, straight, or recurved horns would appear single. This view might have been taken over into sculpture.¹

Thus it is possible that the account of the one-horned reindeer of Caesar was influenced by the classical tradition of the unicorn which we have traced back to Ktesias. But a more rational explanation excludes all connection between the fabled monoceros and the account in the pages of Caesar. This description may have originated with some traveler from the northern confines of the forest, who had seen a drawing of a reindeer on bone, or even the actual animal itself at a distance in silhouette. We know the reindeer roamed as far south as Germany in Caesar's day. Buffon (XXX, 98) mentions a French writer, Gaston Phaebus, who speaks of it as existing in France as late as the fifteenth century. A still better explanation is one which Dr. A. G. Ruthven, curator of the University of Michigan Museum, recently suggested to my colleague, Professor F. G. Speck. He calls attention to the fact that deer shed their antlers each fall and that possibly Caesar's informant saw a reindeer in process of losing its horns, at the stage when only one had dropped off. Thus, on several assumptions, it is not necessary to see anything fabulous in the Caesarian account except a very natural mistake. The fact that the writer mentions the unique phenomenon that both sexes of the reindeer have horns seems a conclusive indication that we have to do in the passage in question with an actual animal and not a fabulous one.

THE ELK

Chapter 27 contains the description of the curious jointless animal which Caesar calls the *alces*, an animal which he says resembles a goat in appearance, though larger, and that it has short or mutilated horns. He tells the amusing story of its having no joints in its legs, so that if it ever fell over it could not rise again. Consequently it had to recline propped up against a tree and could be easily captured by the hunter if he previously notched the base

¹ This is the explanation of E. Schröder, *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie zu Berlin* (1892), pp. 573-81; cf. Pl. V.

of the tree and later, when the animal had gone to rest, pulled it over, for the animal would fall with it. Pliny (viii. 16) describes the *alces* as resembling a heifer, though it has a longer neck and longer ears, and he tells a story about the Scandinavian *achlis*—which naturalists identify with the elk—very similar to the one the writer of the account in Caesar tells of the *alces*, that it has no joints in its hind legs: "Hence it never lies down, but reclines against a tree while it sleeps: it can only be taken by previously cutting into the tree and thus laying a trap for it." Pliny further adds that its upper lip is so large that it is compelled to graze backward to keep the lip from curling over. Apparently Pliny's *alces* and *achlis*—despite the jointless hind legs of the latter—are identical with the *alces* of Caesar's account. Strabo (iv. 6. 10) quotes the historian Polybius as saying that an animal of curious form was found in the Alps; it was like a stag except that its neck and hair were like those of a wild boar, and under its chin was a tuft of hair a span long of the thickness of a young horse's tail. This may also be the same animal as the *alces* of Caesar and Pliny, though it is no longer found in the Alps. Pausanias (ix. 21. 3) describes the appearance and habits of the elk (ἄλκη) in terms very near the truth, for he says that it is between a stag and a camel in form and that it is a native of Keltic lands. He says that it is the only wild animal which cannot be tracked at any great distance by men, and that it has a wonderful sense of smell. Hunters catch it by surrounding the plain or mountain where it has taken refuge and closing in. In another passage (v. 12. 1) he says that the female has no horns.

The *alces* of these writers was doubtless the common elk of today—*alces machlis*, formerly called *cervus alces*—the largest existing example of the *cervidae*. It has enormous palmate antlers and is closely related to our moose—*alces machlis americanus*.¹ It still roams over Europe and Asia in small numbers as far south as East Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Siberia, Tartary, and especially in the desert regions of Altai and Baikal, and in Northern China. In North America it ranges from New England to British

¹ The American wapiti deer—*cervus canadensis*—is wrongly called elk; it is a different animal, however, and is related to the European red deer—*cervus elephas*.

Columbia. It was once common to the forests of both Germany and France and existed in parts of Prussia as late as the sixteenth century. It is now protected in Scandinavia. The Irish elk—*cervus megaceros*—now extinct, grew to a colossal size and was the finest cervine animal that ever existed, its horns measuring ten feet across from tip to tip. It was found in Ireland, England, and on the Continent in Pleistocene times.

Caesar's elks were *mutilae cornibus*—a term which was formerly translated "bereft of horns," and led investigators, like Buffon,¹ to believe that Caesar was describing the females only, which have only the rudiments of horns. However, the word *mutilus* means simply "mutilated" or "maimed" (like *truncus*, *mancus*, *curtus*), and is used of horned animals which have lost their horns.² Thus the elk which forms the basis of Caesar's account may have been injured, or the word may be—as A. Vassal³ takes it—"exactly descriptive of the appearance of the antlers which look scraggy and as though they had been injured."

Thus it is a simple matter to explain on the basis of the known elk everything in the description of Caesar except the statement that these animals *crura sine nodis articulisque habent*. The great length of the elk's legs and the consequent ungainly appearance of this animal, and the fact long since pointed out by Buffon⁴ that its articulations are very firm, may be the explanation of this curious statement. The ancients also believed that the elephant, because of its ponderous, ungainly legs, had no joints. The Greeks first got acquainted with the elephant from the Macedonian expedition into Asia, while the Romans, as already stated, saw them first in the army of Pyrrhus. Aristotle (*Hist. animal.* ii. 1. 5; *De anim. ingressu* ix. 709 a8) combated the notion of Ktesias that it had no joints and had to sleep against a tree and could be caught only by notching the tree on which it leaned. Strabo (xvi. 4. 10)—quoting from Artemidorus—recounts the same mistaken notion,

¹ *Op. cit.*, xxx, 97, n. 1; so Beckmann, *De praecipuis Germaniae antiquae animalibus*, p. 41.

² E.g., of a *bos*, in Varro *De latina lingua* ix. 33; Columella vii. 6.

³ See C. A. A. du Pontet, *Caesar . . . Gallic War*, Books vi-vii (1901), p. 187.

⁴ xxx, 97, n. 1: "l'élan a les jambes fort roides, c'est-à-dire les articulations très-fermes."

and it kept up until the time of Timotheus of Gaza in the sixteenth century.¹ If the ancients believed such a story of the elephant, it is not surprising that they said the same thing of so ungainly an animal as the elk. Thus in all probability this part of Caesar's story is a pure invention. No animal—except the horse under certain conditions—is known to sleep standing, and comparative zoölogy shows that no mammal can exist which is without joints in its limbs.²

THE URUS

In chapter 28 the urus is described as an animal a little smaller than the elephant and resembling a bull in color and appearance. Caesar says, with respect to the size and appearance of its horns, that this animal differs *a nostrarum boum cornibus*. Herodotus (vii. 126) speaks of wild oxen with enormous horns as being exported from Thrace to Greece. Strabo (xvi. 4) also mentions wild bulls of carnivorous nature which are larger and swifter than those of Greece and are red in color. All these were doubtless identical and were evidently not the *bos bison* of Linnaeus, which has short horns, but rather *bos urus* or *bos primigenius*, that is, the *bos urus* of Caesar, which has been long since extinct, though it survived in Normandy down to the eleventh century. This animal is found depicted on Assyrian sculptures, and, along with the lion, on coins of the Thracian city of Acanthus.

By some curious mistake the name *urus* has been applied to the aurochs or bison (*bos bison* or *bonasus*), the only wild-ox species now in existence.³ However, this is not the urus which we have just

¹ See Haupt, *Opuscula*, iii, 288: Strabo's words are (after describing how the animal was caught): "The elephant is unable to rise, because its legs are formed of one piece of bone which is inflexible." My colleague, Dr. B. F. Schappelle, has pointed out to me a curious reminder of the mistake in Otfried (born ca. 800 A.D.), the introducer of rhymed verse into German, who, in his work *Liber evangelian primus*, No. 4, p. 1, l. 16 (see W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* [Halle, 1907], p. 92), refers to the classical writers' accurate joining of sentences thus: "They did it so exactly and yet so simply that it is joined into one like the leg of an elephant."

² Professor Frank G. Speck has recently published a very similar story of a jointless animal which he heard among the Penobscot Indians of Maine; in this story trees were notched exactly as in Caesar's account, and when the animal has fallen over he cannot rise again and so is easily shot; see *Alumni Register of the University of Pennsylvania*, June, 1917, pp. 686-90.

³ See Cuvier, "Le Règne animal," *Les mammifères*, Texte, p. 524.

discussed, but a species of wild ox or buffalo well known to the ancients. Thus Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* ii. 1. 35 and 9. 45; *De partibus animalium* iii. 2. 5) calls it βόρασος. Pliny (viii. 15) carefully distinguished the bison and urus and said that the former excelled the latter in force and swiftness. He says that the vulgar call the urus "bubalus" (*bos bubalus* of Linnaeus, the real buffalo, which originated in India and thence came to Egypt, Greece, and Italy in the Middle Ages). Oppian, the second-century A.D. Greek author of a didactic poem on the chase (*Cynetiga* ii. 159-75), describes the bison and derives its name from the *Bisontes* of Thrace, mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 10) and Strabo (frag. 44), among whom it was found. The bison once roamed over European forests, as we see from fossil remains of it or some closely allied animal which are found in the peat-bog Pleistocene deposits of Britain and the Continent along with the bones of the extinct mammoth and rhinoceros. In Charlemagne's day it was a beast of the chase in Germany, but now it is almost extinct. The Russian emperor until recently protected a few herds as park animals in a forest at Byelovitza in Lithuania, and they exist in a wild state only in a certain district of the Ural Mountains and in Kuban in the Caucasus. None of the Czar's protected bisons could be killed without a written permission signed by his own hand. They are fast dying out. In 1862 there were over 1,200 head in Lithuania; by 1872 these had become reduced to 528, and in 1892 to 491.¹ The aurochs or bison, the name of the only existing species of the European wild ox, and now the largest European quadruped, is related to, but not identical with, the American bison (*bison americanus*), wrongly called buffalo, which once blackened our western prairies, but is now reduced to a few thousand heads, for it is larger than the American animal, has a smaller chest, larger pelvis, longer tail, and less shaggy foreparts. The bison has been described by several writers of early modern times, notably by Erasmus Stella,² who says it was scarce in Prussia in his day. Raphael Volaterranus

¹ See article "Bison," *Encycl. Britannica* (11th ed.), IV, 11; cf. Elton, *Origins of English History* (1st ed.), p. 58 ff.

² "De Borussiae antiquitatibus," in *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Paris, 1532), p. 507.

describes how bison were caught in Lithuania in the sixteenth century: "They hunt bears and bisons which nearly resemble wild cattle. . . . They enclose a haunt of the bisons with a fence, leaving only one opening, which leads to the bottom of a valley. This opening is purposely made greasy and slippery, and the beasts slip down it to the bottom of the valley. There, after being weakened and tamed by hunger for several days, they are easily caught."¹ This recalls the description of how they were caught in antiquity, which is given by Pausanias in his account of Phocis (x. 13. 1). Pausanias calls the bison the Paeonian bull, from the Thracian tribe of the Paeonians who lived north of Macedon.² Since nets were not strong enough to hold the beast the hunters proceeded in the following way:

Whenever they find a spot sloping down to a hollow, they first enclose it all round with a strong fence and then cover the slope and the level space at its bottom with fresh skins. If they do not happen to have fresh skins, they make dry ones slippery by means of oil. Next the best horsemen drive the bisons into the place mentioned. The beasts, immediately slipping on the first skins, roll down hill until they reach the level. Here they are at first left lying, but on the fourth or fifth day, when hunger and exhaustion have mostly subdued their spirit, professional tamers bring them, as they still lie there, the fruit of the cultivated pine-tree, after peeling off the husks, since at first the animals will touch no other food. Finally the men, having caught them with ropes, lead them off.

The correspondence in the accounts of Pausanias and Volaterranus is so great that it suggests copying of the former by the latter. Volaterranus' work first appeared in 1559, while the *editio princeps* of Pausanias appeared at the Aldine press in Venice in 1516. However, both accounts may restore the mode of hunting which survived from the second to the sixteenth centuries. Similarly the mode of elephant hunting in India, described by Strabo (xv. 1. 42), is very similar to the mode still in use in that country today. Now the regular method is to build a kheda or gigantic stockade into which the wild herd is driven and then starved into submission and later tamed by domesticated elephants. The mahout's

¹ *Commentarii urbani* (ed. of 1603), p. 250: translation by J. G. Frazer in his edition of *Pausanias*, V, 294.

² Cf. Pliny *H.N.* viii. 16, who mentions the wild Paeonian *bonasus*, which had a horse's mane, but was otherwise like a bull with horns. Pliny took his account, though with exaggerations, from Aristotle *Hist. Animal.* ix. 45.

assistants climb down from their elephant, crawl beneath the belly of a tame elephant, and throw ropes around the feet of the one to be captured. Just so the ancient driver got down from his tame elephant, crept under its belly, and thence under the belly of the one to be taken, where he could tie its legs. The other method of catching these beasts by pitfalls, also recounted by Strabo (xv. 1. 43)—quoting Nearchus—is seldom used nowadays, since it is considered cruel and wasteful.

After this digression on the bison let us return to Caesar's urus. We have seen that the author is not describing the bison, or aurochs, but a different animal, the wild mountain bull or ure-ox of Herodotus and Strabo—an animal which at the time of the Roman invasion still roamed over the forests of Gaul, Belgium, and Germany. Many writers mention it—Pliny (viii. 38), Vergil (*Georgics* ii. 374 and cf. iii. 532),¹ Macrobius (*Saturnalia* vi. 4), etc. The urus had long, spreading horns, unlike those of the bison, but more resembling those of our cattle, of which it is doubtless the ancestor. It survived in Britain down into the Bronze Age.² It was certainly akin to, though probably not the ancestor of, the wild cattle which are confined today in parks at Chillingham, England, and Hamilton, Scotland.³

After thus sifting the evidence for Caesar's descriptions of the animals of the Hercynian Forest, we find that the accounts of the one-horned reindeer and the ure-ox can be rationally explained without having recourse to the marvelous. As to the third animal described, the elk, only that part of the description which mentions that it has no joints, and the consequent manner of capturing it, is found not to be open to a scientific explanation.

¹ Servius, in his commentary on Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 532), says that the poet means the wild oxen which are born in the Pyrenees, and he says that with the exception of the elephant they are the largest of animals. He derives the word "urus" from the Greek words ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων, "from the mountains." Of course he is here confusing the Pyrenees with the Hercynian Forest.

² See T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 1901.

³ Cf. Alston, "Fauna of Scotland," in *Mammalia* (1880), p. 25. He believes that these cattle are the descendants of a race which escaped domestication. W. H. Flower and R. Lydekker (*Introduction to the Study of Mammals*, 1891) say that the *bos primigenius* belonged to a race of which some think the Chillingham cattle are the smaller descendants.

THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE ORIENTAL CULTS¹

BY GORDON LAING
University of Chicago

In a paper which I read some time ago before the American Philological Association I sketched the attitude of one of the Church Fathers, Tertullian, toward the indigenous Roman gods and the divinities that had been introduced into Rome from Greece. Now I am approaching the subject from another angle, dealing with a considerable number of ecclesiastical writers, but confining myself to a discussion of their attitude toward one group of ancient religious beliefs—the oriental cults commonly referred to under the term *sacra peregrina*. One of these was introduced into Rome at the end of the third century before Christ, others in the last period of the Republic, and many more under the Empire.

The Romans had always been tolerant in matters of religion. They did not believe that their gods were the only gods. They did not have the slightest objection to foreigners bringing with them to Rome their own deities and religious practices and making converts there. They went even farther than that. The Roman state itself frequently gave official recognition to foreign cults. This policy of religious tolerance began at an early period in Roman history, and by the middle of the third century before Christ Roman religion consisted of a medley of Greek and Latin beliefs, with the Greek element dominant and crowding the indigenous cults off the field. The ultimate explanation of this situation is to be found in a deep-seated dissatisfaction with the old creeds and in doubt and uncertainty as to the efficacy of the purely Roman ritual. At any rate it was at national crises that some of the most important Greek cults were introduced. A pestilence that occurred about the end of the regal period was the occasion of the importation of the worship of Apollo, who was to the Romans of that time and for some

¹ Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Louisville, 1917.

centuries afterward chiefly a god of healing. A failure of crops and a serious shortage in food in the second decade of the Republic resulted in the introduction under the name of Ceres of the Greek Demeter upon whose favor the fertility of the fields was supposed to depend. But not even the Greek gods seemed to the Romans equal to all emergencies, and they turned to oriental beliefs. It was at a time of great national depression, the year 204 B.C., when Hannibal and his army of invasion had been in Italy for many years and there seemed but small chance of driving him out, that the Senate decreed that the cult of the Asiatic divinity Cybele, the Great Mother as she was called, the chief divinity of the Phrygians, should be established in Rome. This was done, and some years later a temple dedicated to her was built in the heart of the city, on the Palatine itself, where the ruins lying in a grove of live-oaks may still be seen. Early in the first century before Christ the worship of the Egyptian Isis was introduced, and at the end of the first century of the Empire came the most famous of all these oriental worships—the cult of the Persian Mithras. Just how strong these cults were in the last days of the Republic and in the first century of the Empire we do not know precisely, but they seem to have attracted votaries from the first days of their establishment. Circumstances favored them. The national religion was in a state of demoralization and decay. Nothing shows this more clearly than Augustus' measures of reform. In that record of the achievements of his reign which we have in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* he states that he restored eighty-two temples which had crumbled into ruins. Besides this he found it necessary to reorganize the priesthoods, and he filled the office of flamen Dialis, which had had no incumbent for seventy-five years.¹ But even this attempt to galvanize the old creeds into something like life failed. Men could not find in them satisfaction for those spiritual longings, that craving for a more individualistic faith that permeated the Greco-Roman world at the beginning of our era. And so they turned to the oriental gods, most of whom made a strong emotional appeal. Nor is there any doubt that the spread of the worship of these divinities among the Romans paved the way for Christianity, which during the first

¹ Tacitus *Ann.* iii. 58.

three centuries was regarded by the educated class as nothing more than one of the many oriental religions that had found their way to Rome. The persecution of the Christians was not in the first place due to any intolerance of their religious beliefs, but to a fear that they were socially dangerous.

During the second, third, and fourth centuries the oriental cults attained great popularity, and while their appeal was mainly to the lower classes, it was by no means confined to them. We know that the emperor Commodus himself became a devotee of Isis. He is said to have submitted to the tonsure usual among her priests, to have marched in the sacred processions organized in her honor, and to have carried in his hands an image of that grotesque deity which belonged to the circle of Isis, the dog-headed god Anubis, with which either in religious fervor or with royal humor he from time to time smote the head of the high priest who walked in front of him. Possibly he had given him precedence with malice aforethought, or he may have been moved by a desire to assist him in the mortification of the flesh.

We have other records attesting the favor which these cults found in high places, and of their great vogue among the masses we have abundant evidence in dedicatory inscriptions. In brief, during the third and fourth centuries, the period to which most of the polemics of the Church Fathers belong, they were absorbing a very large part of the religious vitality of Rome.

In this paper I shall confine my discussion to the Fathers' attacks upon three of these cults—those to which I have already referred: the Great Mother, Isis, and Mithras; and even in the case of these I shall not in the space available be able to go very deeply into the details of their worship. The Great Mother was originally a spirit of vegetation, connected with the fertility of the soil; Isis belonged to the same general field; while Mithras was a god of light. But all three developed phases which seem at first thought far removed from their original functions; and, widely as their ritual and practices differed, they had certain elements in common: the ideas of repentance, absolution, and hope of happiness in the world to come. These were the features that appealed so strongly to the converts, who felt that they had here something

that the formalism of the old cults did not offer. Especially effective was the hope of a future life, for this had played no part in the original Roman theology. These characteristics of the oriental beliefs remind one inevitably of important tenets of the Christian faith, and it is largely on this account that so many skeptics have maintained that Christianity was earth-born and not heaven-sent; that it had no special message; that it merely reflected ideas which were current in the world at the time and which found expression through the media of different creeds and rituals.

To be more specific, there are many resemblances between the Isis-cult and some forms of Christianity: the tonsure of the priests, their white garb, the fasts, the use of holy water and incense, and the elevation of sacred objects. There are similarities also between the processions of the votaries of Isis and the processions seen in some Catholic countries in Europe. There is evidence that a devotee could sometimes procure the cult statue of Isis and take it to his house for a specified period, just as in Russia images of the Madonna are said to be sometimes borrowed from the churches and placed for a time in private houses. The same sort of thing is done in Rome today. The use of little bells in some of the churches in Southern Italy is said to go back to the use of the *sistrum* in the ritual of Isis. The rich adornment of statues of Isis may be compared with the equipment of some statues of the Madonna in Christian churches.

Between Mithraism and Christianity there are also numerous points of resemblance.¹ Like the Christians, the followers of Mithras were organized in relatively small groups or congregations, the members of which lived in close fellowship, as is shown by the term "brother" which they applied to one another and the greeting "father" with which they addressed the priest. Like the Christians, they had baptism, confirmation, and communion. Like that of the Christians their moral system was a strict one; they preached continence, chastity, self-denial, and self-control. They believed that the world had once been destroyed by a flood for its sins; they believed in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the dead, in a heaven for the blessed, and a hell where evil spirits dwelt.

¹ Aust, *Römische Religion*, p. 167.

Moreover, it was Mithras himself who brought about the resurrection of the dead, and so he was savior and redeemer. A last supper and an ascension also appear in the legends of the cult. One cannot then be surprised at St. Augustine's statement that he knew a priest of Mithras who, struck by these resemblances, exclaimed, "Why, Mithras himself is a Christian!"

It was while Mithraism was at the height of its power that it received a deadly blow. The first inroads of the barbarians fell upon the frontier towns of the Empire, where, as a cult that had attained great popularity among soldiers, it was especially strong. Had it not been for this, Renan goes so far as to say, the Western world today would be Mithraic, not Christian.

But let us look at some examples of the Church Fathers' criticism of these *sacra peregrina*, dealing first with the Egyptian deities. These, especially Isis and Serapis, are the target for more than one hot volley of patristic shot, and prominent among their assailants stands the Church Father Arnobius.¹ He is one of the most vehement of the champions of the early church, but his logic falls short of his ardor, and it is with but feeble effect that he ridicules the divinity of the Egyptian gods on the ground that they had failed to protect their temple from fire: *Ubi Serapis Aegyptius cum consimili casu iacuit solutus in cinerem cum mysteriis omnibus atque Iside?*² He dwells also on the manifestly human qualities of Isis and the other gods of the group. "This Isis of yours," he exclaims, "is nothing but a woman searching for her lost son."³ The same theme is elaborated by other Church Fathers. Lactantius not only comments on the human element that pervades the whole sacred drama of Isis, as acted by the priests and devotees at the festival of the deity—their mourning and lamentations as they search for her lost son, the sudden change from grief to joy when his body is found⁴—but he tells us definitely who Isis was. She was Io, the daughter of Inachus. We must not, however, he adds, believe the story that she was changed into a cow and in that shape swam across to Egypt. The festival known as the Ship of Isis (*navigium Isidis*), celebrated every year at Ostia and elsewhere, is

¹ He wrote his *Adversus nationes* about 295 A.D.

² *Ibid.*, I. 31.

³ *Adversus nationes*, VI. 23.

⁴ *Institutiones divinae*, I. 21. 20.

evidence to the contrary. For the ship is obviously the very vessel in which she sailed across to Egypt, where she was worshiped under the name of Isis.¹ Augustine² tells us that in almost all the temples where Isis and Serapis were worshiped there was a statue with finger upon lips, the significance of which was that everyone should be silent in regard to the fact that the gods in the temple were of human origin. In another passage of the same work (X.11) he states that the attitude of the priests of the cult was not always one of prayerful veneration, but that sometimes by means of threats they forced their gods to obey their commands. In regard to Serapis a theory, not of human, but of diabolic origin, is put forward by Paulinus Nolanus.³ According to him Serapis was the devil in disguise, while the *modius* or peck-measure with which his head as a god of plenty was frequently adorned was ultimately derived from Joseph, of whose famous corner in grain it was a fitting and abiding reminder.

In their discussion of the cult of the Great Mother the Church Fathers not only display their customary infelicitous ingenuity in identifying her with many divinities with whom she had not the slightest affiliation, but they attack with even unusual severity the moral aspects of her worship. There was, for example, an annual ceremony (March 27) which consisted in the washing (*lavatio*) of the image and sacred utensils of the goddess in the Almo, a little tributary of the Tiber. This was the occasion of a great procession of priests and devotees in which drum and cymbal played their customary part. But there were scenic representations also, and, if we are to believe St. Augustine, the character of these songs was such as to settle once for all any claims to divinity that might be made by anyone for the Great Mother. They were, he asserts, so vicious that not even the mother of honest men, much less the mother of the gods, would listen to them. *Quae sunt*, he asks, *sacrilegia, si illa sunt sacra? Aut quae inquinatio, si illa lavatio?* The twenty-sixth chapter of the seventh book of the *De civitate dei* is a good example of the vehemence of his denunciation: *defecit interpretatio, erubuit ratio, conticuit oratio*. In another part of the same work (III.12) he indulges in a ponderous priestly

¹ *Ibid.*, I. 11.² *De civitate dei*, XVIII. 5.³ *Carm.*, XIX. 98 ff.

irony. The drift of this passage is that it was not on account of Hannibal or other troubles in Italy that the Romans introduced the worship of the Great Mother, but because they suddenly realized that since she was the mother of the gods she must be the mother of Jupiter, and that being so, she should certainly have a temple in Rome where her son had been worshiped for so many years. Furthermore, he continues, if she is the mother of all the gods, she must be the mother of the dog-faced god of the Egyptians, Anubis. He at any rate will not cause any great stirring of maternal pride. But Fever (Febris) is also a divinity. Is Cybele the mother of Fever? The Pseudo-Augustine also attacks the morals of the cult: *antistites matris quae appellatur magna . . . et re vera magna fuit sed meretrix*. Rufinus¹ criticism is of a similar character. Arnobius² fastens with especial vigor upon the dramatic representations of the myth of Cybele and Attis, and is unsparing in his denunciation of their immoral tendency.

I come now to Mithras. A common type of criticism is exemplified in the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, a work attributed to St. Augustine but probably written by the same author as the commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul generally assigned to St. Ambrose. In this book suspicion is cast on the custom, invariably observed by the followers of Mithras, of celebrating their mysteries in underground chapels. Dark places, insinuates the writer, are ever suitable for dark deeds. In the same passage is an account of certain practices of the devotees, some of whom, it is said, imitate the cries of a raven, some roar like lions, while others with hands bound are thrown into trenches full of water. The gloom of the sanctuary is not cover enough for their practices, and those who take part have their eyes bandaged. But the light of the Christian church has penetrated the darkness of the subterranean chapel, and has stripped the bandages from the eyes of many victims, who recanting their idolatry have not only become converts to Christianity but have revealed in all their gruesome details the customs of the followers of Mithras. Paulinus Nolanus also, in the last poem in which he assails the pagan cults, points to the inconsistency involved in carrying on in a dark subterranean chamber the

¹ *De luminibus* 4.

² *Adversus nationes*, VII. 33.

worship of Mithras, whom his followers regarded as a sun-god. "Who," he asks, "would worship light in darkness or conceal the sun in the depths of the earth but the devil himself (*rerum causa malarum*)?" The tests and atrocities hinted at by the author of the passage quoted above are referred to by Gregory Nazianzen also; and the monk Nonnus (sixth or seventh century) recounts and endeavors to explain the ordeals of heat, cold, hunger, thirst, flogging, etc., to which St. Gregory refers. A later commentator, Elias of Crete (eleventh or twelfth century), who wrote in Greek but of whose work we have a Latin version by Billius, shows but scant sympathy with these sufferings of the devotees of Mithras, saying that those who worshiped such a god deserved even more severe penalties. Sometimes much more serious charges are made against the followers of Mithras. Socrates, who flourished about 425 A.D., tells us in his ecclesiastical history of the discovery in Alexandria of human bones on the altar of a sanctuary of Mithras. The discovery was made by Christians, who forming in procession displayed the skulls to the populace as evidence of the barbarous character of the rites of the god. But this incident happened in the reign of Julian the Apostate, who was doing everything in his power to oust Christianity, and the mob, encouraged by the imperial officials in Alexandria, fell upon the Christians and killed many of them, including their patriarch Georgius. Sozomen, the Greek ecclesiastical writer of the fifth century, gives an account of the same event.

The charges contained in these passages, when subjected to scrutiny, are found to contain very little substance. The fact that the votaries of Mithras regularly built their sanctuaries underground was due to their desire to imitate as closely as possible the grottos which the founders of the faith had used in Persia. The imitation of the cries of birds and of the roaring of lions, and the trials and tests of which so much capital is made were apparently nothing more than part of the rites of initiation. We know that one of the degrees of initiation was that of the raven, while another was that of the lion, and we may reasonably suppose that the tests to which the candidates were subjected were, like most initiatory ceremonies, unpleasant rather than terrible. Furthermore,

we must remember that the information of the Christian writers was derived, as is distinctly stated in one of the passages quoted, from persons who had been converted from Mithras-worship to Christianity. Renegades of all kinds are notoriously unfair to the cause they have deserted. In the case of the most serious charge cited, namely that human remains found on the altar of a *Mithraeum* in Alexandria furnished indisputable evidence of the practice of human sacrifice, a flat denial may be made. When I referred to this story, I mentioned the fact that there are two versions extant, one by Socrates, the other by Sozomen, both apparently going back to the same source. Now it is the version of the latter that in general seems to be the more reliable, and it is worthy of special attention that on this question of human sacrifice its evidence differs sharply from that of the other. Instead of remains of human bodies, it states that fragments of statues of persons, some young and some old, were found beside the altar in the sanctuary.

Other ecclesiastical critics are guilty of errors which show very clearly their ignorance of the cult which they are so ready to condemn. For example, we read in an epistle of St. Ambrose¹ that Caelestis worshiped by the Africans, Mithras venerated by the Persians, and Venus adored by all the world were one and the same divinity. The range and recklessness of this interpretation astonish even one habituated to ecclesiastical misinformation. For you will observe that Ambrose has not only assigned to Mithras a wholly new field but has changed him from a god to a goddess. Undoubtedly the passage goes back to Herodotus i. 131. That author, who traveled extensively in the East about the middle of the fifth century before Christ, says among other things: "The Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabians call her Alitta, while the Persians call her Mithras." Herodotus is in error here, and in all probability, as Cumont² suggests, he confuses Mithras with Anâhita. Their names are found together in cuneiform inscriptions.

¹ *Epist. contr. Symmachum*, I. 18. 30 (Migne, P.L., XVI, 980): *quam Caelestem Afri, Mithram Persae, plerique Venerem colunt, pro diversitate nominis non pro numinis varietate.*

² *Textes et Monuments*, II, 17.

One curious line of attack represents Mithras as a cattle thief: "He used to drive off other men's cattle," writes Commodianus,¹ "and hide them in his caves, like Cacus the son of Vulcan." And Firmicus Maternus in his famous work *De errore religionum profanarum* makes the same accusation. The explanation of this charge is found in the innumerable sculptured reliefs in which Mithraic is represented as dragging a bull backward like Cacus in the fable, or pursuing or killing it as in the best known of all the Mithraic reliefs, the bull-killing Mithras (*Mithras tauroκτόνος*) which adorned one of the walls in so many of the underground sanctuaries. That the Christians should have made these representations the basis of ridicule shows perhaps better than anything else how far they were prepared to go. For the bull was sacred to Mithras. With it was connected the whole Mithraic theory of creation. From its blood after it had been killed by Mithras sprang all the forms of life, animal and vegetable, known upon the earth. According to the theory of the cult his seizure of it was the first step toward the creation of the world, and his killing of it was the consummation of that creation.

Numerous however as are the criticisms made by the Church Fathers, the features of Mithras-worship that irritated them most were those resemblances to their own creed to which I have already referred. Justin Martyr (in the *Dialogue with Trypho*, 70) implies that in their use of grottos and in their custom of having sacred meals there the adherents of Mithras had appropriated and applied to their god the prophecy of Isa. 33:16: "He shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; his bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure." The same author in his *Apology*, when speaking of the sacrament of the Eucharist, refers to the similar practice in the religion of Mithras, and accuses the worshipers of Mithras of having devised a sacrilegious imitation of the Christian rite. Firmicus Maternus devotes a long tirade to their insolence in so frequently describing Mithras as the god of the rock—*θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας*. He objects to their profanation of terms peculiarly Christian: *Christus nobis venerandi lapidis significatione monstratur. Quid tu ad commaculatas superstitiones furtiva fraude*

¹ *Instructiones*, I. 13.

*venerandi transferis nominis dignitatem?*¹ In answer to this it need hardly be pointed out that the rock which the worshipers of Mithras revered had nothing to do with any Hebrew or Christian beliefs, but was merely the rock from which in the Persian story he was born. As regards the charge in connection with the Eucharist, there are clear indications that some form of communion had been a part of Mithraism long before it came in contact with Christianity.

With so much criticism of the type exemplified in the references given above, it is a relief to light upon such a passage as that in the unfinished commentary on Matthew attributed to St. John Chrysostom.² It is a note on the verse: "ecce magi venerunt ab oriente." The author asks the question, "Who were these *magi*, these wise men?" and then proceeds to state that they were a tribe living in the Far East; that their holy book was *quaedam scriptura inscripta nomine Seth*, which contained the prophecy of the appearance of the star; that they watched for it from generation to generation, son succeeding father as the years passed and it did not appear. At last it was seen and they followed it as the New Testament records. The passage is one of unusual interest. For the *magi* were associated with Mithras-worship, and it has been suggested³ that the account quoted is a piece of propagandist literature intended to attract followers of Mithras to Christianity.

These passages are enough to show the trend and character of the Church Fathers' criticism of the oriental cults. It is as open to counter-attack as their treatment of the indigenous Roman beliefs. They ignore essential and important characteristics and level their polemics at trivial and insignificant details. It is moreover especially noticeable that the volume of criticism is much smaller than that with which they assail the older Roman cults. There were so many doctrines in the oriental faiths that resembled their own that silence seemed the safer policy. This is especially true of Mithras-worship. No one now subscribes to that statement of Renan that I quoted above that the decline of this cult was

¹ *De errore profanarum religionum*, 20.

² Cumont (*Textes et Monuments*, II, 65) is of the opinion that the commentary was the work of some scholar of the sixth or seventh century.

³ M. E. Kuhn, *Festgruss an. R. von Roth*, pp. 219 ff.

nothing more than an accident of history. Christianity won because it was the finer moral medium. But there is no doubt that Mithraism was one of the most dangerous rivals that the church has ever known. Certainly the early Christians regarded it as their greatest enemy—one that must be crushed if their own cause was to survive; and many a sanctuary of the Persian god that has been excavated testifies by its smashed reliefs and broken altars not only to the religious fervor but also to the gentle charity of the founders of our faith.

Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF ETHICS

BY B. L. ULLMAN
University of Pittsburgh

So much has been said and written about Horace that it can do no harm to add a little more. And surely there is a little more to say about a poet whose *Odes* have appealed to translators so diverse as Eugene Field and William Gladstone, to editors so different as a specialist in Latin syntax and an authority on Greek philosophy. The closeted scholar and the man on the street, young boy and old boy, all extremes are brought together by the golden mean of Horace. Golf is claimed to be the best recreation for all ages, and to prove it we have fathers' and sons' tournaments; but a recreation just as universal is the translation of Horace's *Odes*—a game in which we have seen within recent years father and son competing side by side.

To many the mention of Horace brings to mind the lighter odes, bibulous and amorous, which sing of those unreal ladies whom Professor Kirby Smith calls "fair and fragile Hellenic damsels of syllabled air." But our interest on this occasion lies in the other Horace, the teacher of philosophy, *philosophiae doctor*—not the Ph.D. of today, who is reputed to be and, I regret to say, too often is the narrow specialist who wears blinders and sees nothing through his microscopic eye except the infinitesimal fragment of the cosmos which he is scrutinizing. But Horace was not interested in the whole field of philosophy; practical Roman that he was, he concerned himself chiefly with its most practical side, that of ethics. A survey of all Horace's poetry would be necessary to give a complete picture of his ethics, but a study of his *Odes* from a rather new point of view will serve to show, I think, the importance which he attached to his ethical precepts.

That the essence of Horace's philosophy is Greek and that his very words are often merely paraphrases of the Greek is known to all. But we must not forget that Horace's own experience modi-

fied the teachings of the Greeks, especially in the matter of emphasis. In the fourth satire of the first book he tells us how he received instruction in morals from his father by concrete example. The passage reads thus (vss. 107-111): "When he was urging me to live simply and frugally, content with what he had laid aside for me, he said: 'Don't you see how badly off Albius' son is, and how poor Baius is? It's a good lesson for one not to waste his patrimony.'" This habit of observing the people about him and drawing lessons from them Horace maintained throughout his life. In the sixth satire of the first book he tells us that it was his custom to wander about the circus with its numerous fakirs and to join the crowds in watching the fortune tellers. Such a sight would start him to thinking of his favorite philosophy. The result is his "Carpe diem" ode, in which he tells Leuconoe not to patronize the astrologers. In the same way he uses personal experiences, scenes from nature, even friendships, to develop a text. And so he passes on to the girls and boys, *virginibus puerisque*, the results of those intimate observations of life which his father had taught him to make. In other words, he is doing what all good teachers do, bringing his subject-matter into relation with life, or, to use a word which I abhor, "vitalizing" his subject.

I have spoken of the "texts" in these ethical poems because Horace is really preaching sermons. Teaching ethics and preaching sermons *may* be one and the same thing. The text is the important thing in these odes, and we should speak of them, not by number, nor by first line, but by text, as the "Carpe diem" poem. That Horace considered the text the most important thing in these poems is shown by the fact that it is usually one of the phrases whose painstaking felicity is generally recognized. If we remember the text we remember the thought of the poem and a fine phrase besides.

In addition to contact with life and the text, a common feature is the development by means of mythological and historical material, much after the fashion of the minister who introduces stories from the Bible. Finally, when the text has been rather gloomy and the preaching somewhat evident, Horace tactfully lightens the gloom by some cheering remark at the end.

We may illustrate these characteristics from the poems themselves. The third ode is the well-known propempticon to Virgil. But Horace's prayer for his famous friend's safe arrival in Greece is only incidental to a higher purpose. The dangers of the deep lead to the familiar thought of the wickedness of man in crossing the seas. The simplicity of the further development of the thought seems to have escaped notice. The long discussion (sixteen lines) about the sea ends with the transitional line: "Bold to endure anything the human race rushes into all forbidden sins. Bold scion of Iapetus brought fire to the earth," etc. The repetition of the word *audax*, "bold," marks the transition to the next thought, the evil caused by the use of fire (seven lines). Daedalus' aëroplaning receives two lines, Hercules' exploit in breaking through (*perrupit*) to the lower world (it was the earth he broke through) is given one line. Thus we have a discussion of the evils associated with the four elements: water, fire, air, and earth. Then comes the summing up of it all in the fine text *Nil mortalibus arduist*, "Nothing is too hard for mortals."

The fourth poem starts out as a joyous spring poem, but after twelve lines the atmosphere is chilled by the mention of pale death. Why should a bright spring day suggest death of all things? The first line gives the key to Horace's thought: winter is being broken up by the *change* of spring. It is the marvelous change from the chill winds of yesterday to the sunshine of today that strikes the poet. Tomorrow we shall have winter again—and so it is in life. All of which leads to the text: *vitae summa brevis spem nos velat incohare longam*, "The brief span of life forbids long hopes." (I cannot agree with Smith that the main motive is expressed in vss. 9-12.) The text is then expanded by the thought that the dead weight of night and Pluto's realm will press us down. From this gloom Horace rescues us by reminding us of the beauty of Lycidas here and now. As is well known, Horace imitates this poem in iv. 7, and there the thought-connection is made quite clear and confirms our interpretation of the earlier poem. Spring has come, the earth has changed her garb, the graces and nymphs hold joyous dances. This is followed immediately by the text, so oddly contrasting: *immortalia ne speres*, "Hope not for immortality"—the very

seasons warn against such hopes. Spring follows winter, summer spring, and soon it is winter again. This insistence on the close association of birth and death may be due to Epicureanism; it is a commonplace in Lucretius. Here then a description of nature is but a setting for his ethical creed. We may say that it is no reflection on Horace's art that he does this. We have a similar situation in our modern novels. I suppose that it is pretty generally agreed that a philosophy of life is desirable in a novel. If it is artistically written as well, it may be a great novel.

In the seventh poem Horace devotes a long *praeteritio* to the glories of foreign regions, concluding with the praise of Tivoli as surpassing them all. Then follows a simile which seems so disconnected from the preceding that many have thought that a new poem begins here, just as in the fourth ode one almost feels that a new poem begins after the praise of spring. Horace says, in effect: "Just as the south wind sometimes brings clear weather instead of the usual storms, so should you, Plancus, drive dull care away and bring sunshine into your life, whether you be in camp, as you are, or are to be at Tivoli." The thought is developed further by the introduction of the story of Teucer. The poem becomes intelligible as a whole when we reconstruct the situation. Plancus writes to Horace from camp bemoaning his lot and wishing he were at his beloved Tivoli (*tui*, vs. 21), perhaps adding that the description of its glories would be a fine theme for Horace's poetic powers. Horace, in answer to the letter, says: "Yes, your Tivoli is the finest place in the world, but you must be brave and make the best of the situation; a draught of wine is the best cure for your homesickness." The text is *tu sapiens finire memento tristitiam*, but it is summed up better at the end of the story of Teucer: *nunc vino pellite curas*, "Now drive care away with wine."

The ninth ode, the famous "Soracte" poem, utilizes a fine miniature description of a winter scene—reminding one of some of the exquisite little paintings of the Dutch artists—for the purpose of illustrating the text: *Quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere*, "Do not ask what the morrow will bring forth."

The eleventh ode is the "Carpe diem" poem, to which reference has already been made. The twelfth, a long ode, is very interesting.

Following a suggestion of Pindar, Horace improvises on his lyre, so to speak, searching for a suitable theme. He touches on one and another, and then suddenly *the* theme bursts forth, and we realize that all the improvisation had skilfully prepared the way for it; it is the joint glory of Jupiter and Augustus—well summed up in the text: *tu* [Jupiter] *secundo Caesare regnes*, "May you, Jupiter, reign, with Caesar as your second." But in verse 18 Horace had said that Jupiter had no second. I agree with those editors who think this inconsistency intentional. To call it gross flattery is to miss the point of the ode, for it is Horace's purpose to set up Augustus, not merely as a great ruler, but as a great god, deserving of the worship of his subjects. The compliment is not a personal one for Augustus.

The sixteenth poem, beginning *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*, "O daughter, more beautiful than your beautiful mother," is undoubtedly based on as real an experience as any in the *Odes*. The unnamed girl to whom he expresses repentance for his anger is as real as Virgil, Maecenas, and other famous characters. The personal motive is elaborated by introducing Prometheus from the realm of myth, and we are led finally to the text, *compesce mentem*, "Restrain your temper."

The eighteenth ode devotes six lines to the blessings of wine and the trials of the "drys" (*siccis*) and ten lines to the evils of intemperance. The former is therefore merely preliminary to the latter, and the real text of the poem is *ne quis modici transiliat munera liberi*. Incidentally I may say that the fact that this is the text line, intended to stand out by itself, helps to show, it seems to me, that *transiliat* is felt as independent, and that we have an example of parataxis: "Let no one transgress the bounds of moderation in wine, the brawls of the Centaurs and Lapiths are a warning." The same thing is true of iv. 7, *ne immortalia speres, monet annus*; here the first three words are the text of the poem.

The twenty-second ode is the "Integer vitae"; the man upright in life and free from crime needs nothing to protect him, wherever he may be. Witness the poet himself, putting to flight a wolf by his singing. The poem has usually been regarded as a burlesque

or a parody, but Professor Hendrickson¹ is right in rebuking this conception. On the other hand, Professor Shorey² is correct in protesting in reply against attributing an exalted lyric seriousness to the whole poem, or a purely erotic significance.³ I believe that the personal experience is real: Horace met a wolf in the woods and it ran away. The experience was seized upon by the poet to point a moral. The text of the poem is in the first lines, and I believe that these are meant to stand out as a serious thought, poetically, not logically, deduced from the experience. The poem may have a further significance. To sing of Lalage evidently means to write erotic poetry. Are not the first few lines intended by Horace as a defense of this kind of poetry by the familiar device of saying that he himself is upright, even if he does write such verse? As Catullus says, *Nam castum esse decet pium poetam ipsum, versiculos nihil necessest.*⁴

In connection with this poem it is instructive to consider the thirty-fourth ode, the so-called recantation of Epicureanism, which is neither flippant nor comic nor hypocritical, and yet is not meant in all seriousness. The personal experience, in this case the view of lightning in a clear sky, is similarly introduced in the second place and by the same word, *namque*. The Epicureans explained lightning as due to the clashing of clouds, and the sight of lightning without clouds leads Horace to say that their philosophy must be wrong. But that does not mean that he abandoned Epicureanism. His interest was not in its scientific, but in its ethical, side. He did not, like Lucretius, need a detailed exposition of nature to make him a believer. The experience he had and the reflections about it lead to the text which he wishes to emphasize, *Valet ima summis mutare et insignem attenuat deus, obscura promens*, "God can change the position of the high and the low, he humbles the mighty and exalts the lowly."

¹ *Classical Journal*, V, 250 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 317 ff.

³ An excellent interpretation is found in Medley's *Interpretations of Horace* (1910), p. 39.

⁴ See Throop, "The Lives and Verse of Roman Erotic Writers," *Washington University Studies*, I, 160 ff. Throop does not discuss the "Integer vitae" poem.

In the twenty-fourth ode the consolation to Virgil on the death of Quintilius naturally leads to the text at the end, *Leuius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas*, "Patience makes lighter what it is sin to try to change."

Passing over the odes of the second book, which present little that is new for our present purpose, we come to the third book, introduced by the six Roman odes. These poems have given rise to a vast literature. A student in a Dutch university received his Doctor's degree for summarizing the literature of only eight years, and he used 173 printed pages for the task.¹ It may therefore seem presumptuous to pass over them in the cursory fashion necessary here. But we may apply briefly the principle which we have been illustrating—Horace's use of a carefully worded text—and may throw some light on the points at issue.

The first ode has a brief introduction of four lines intended for the group of six poems. In these lines Horace defines his audience: *virginibus puerisque*. The second stanza is an integral part of the first poem, but may be taken with the whole series, as it acknowledges the greatness of Jupiter. There follows a description of the two things that men crave: first, riches; second, political honor. The latter is subdivided into three parts: one may gain office through birth (*generosior*), through character and reputation (*moribus, fama*), or through the power of a political machine (*turba clientium*). But riches and power will not change fate or bring happiness. This leads directly to the theme, *Desiderantem quod satis est*, "The man who wants but little here below." It is his familiar doctrine of *aurea mediocritas* properly given first place in this group of odes.

The second ode is rather curious. It is a plea for military service for the young on the ostensible ground that *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, "'Tis sweet and glorious to die for one's country." This is the line which Horace wishes his reader to carry away with him, as if it were the whole text. It is an emotional appeal. But the real subject of the poem is the value of military service for the creation of character (*virtus*), since it teaches endur-

¹ Slijpen, *Disputatio Critica de Carminibus Horatii Sex Quae Dicuntur Odae Romanae*, reviewed by the present writer in *Classical Philology*, VII, 510.

ance of hardships, physical bravery, unswerving honesty (a trait of importance in politics), a discreet tongue. We have in this poem a defense of universal military service for its usefulness to the country and to the individual.

The third ode has its theme in the first line: *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*, "The man who is just and holds to his purpose," but it has a special national application in view of the fact that Romulus is cited as one of the examples, and his consequent entrance into heaven motivates the most striking feature of the poem, the long speech of Juno, which has little to do with the main theme. She promises not to interfere with the Trojan Romans any more, provided they do not rebuild Troy. In this group of poems a digression of this nature surely has a special significance, and various explanations have been offered. Possibly the last stanza offers a suggestion: Horace stops himself by the reminder that this is matter for epic, not lyric, poetry. Is not this perhaps a complimentary allusion to Virgil's great work already well under way? The wrath of Juno plays a very prominent part in the *Aeneid*. In i. 6 Horace declines to write an epic about Agrippa and refers specifically to Varius. So here one would naturally think of Varius or Virgil.¹

The fourth poem is of special interest. It opens with a very long address to the Muses, in which he shows how great their power

¹ There are some striking resemblances between this poem and the *Aeneid*; cf. vs. 64, *Coniuge me Iovis et sorore*, with *Aen. i. 46* (also said by Juno), *Iovisque et soror et coniunx*. But especially noteworthy is the similarity of the whole speech to Juno's speech in *Aen. xii. 808 ff.* The end of the *Aeneid* is reached only when Jupiter in return for Juno's submission to fate grants her wish that the people of Latium be not called Trojans that dead Troy come not again to life: *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*. This is exactly the point in Horace's ode; cf. vss. 37-42, 61-68. So true is this, that Juno's speech in this ode has often been explained as an attack on the supposed intention to move the seat of the empire to the East. But no such explanation is possible in the *Aeneid*. Virgil's purpose is to explain why the Roman language and civilization are essentially Latin, not Trojan. From the artistic standpoint Juno quite naturally saves her face as she makes possible the end of the epic. It is she who begins and ends the *Aeneid*. It was natural enough for Virgil to explain to his friends the plan of his work, to read to them his prose outline (cf. Donatus) or completed portions of the poem, as he did to Augustus about 23 or 22 B.C. (cf. Donatus and Servius). A literary man like Horace would be particularly interested to be shown the technique by which Juno's wrath was to be finally placated. The ode was probably written between 27 and 23 B.C.

is. The introduction is so lengthy as a compliment to Augustus, who is enjoying the companionship of the Muses (vss. 37 ff.). This leads to the thought that it is they who give to the emperor *lene consilium*, "a policy of moderation." The story of the battle of the gods and giants which is then introduced has given editors much trouble because it seems to lack connection with the preceding matter, but it is an illustration of the power of *consilium* over *vis*. This is summed up in the text of the poem in verse 65: *Vis consili expers mole ruit sua*, "Power without intelligence falls of its own weight." The use of the word *consilium* in verses 41 and 65 ties the poem together.

The fifth ode centers about *vera virtus* (vs. 29) in its narrow sense of courage. The poem is a plea for patriotism of the highest order, illustrated at length by the story of Regulus.

The sixth poem has as its text: *Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas*, "You rule, O Roman, by subordinating yourself to the gods" (vs. 5), and is a plea for the Roman religion.

To sum up, the subjects developed in the six odes are temperance, the value of military service, tenacity of purpose, the wise policy of Augustus, patriotism, and religion.

We may well conclude our discussion of Horatian ethics with these six odes, whose importance has never failed of recognition during the 2,000 years in which Horace has served as professor of ethics in all the colleges of the occidental world.

A FAMILY OF ATHLETES¹

BY E. L. GREEN
University of South Carolina

One of the most pleasant recollections of my trip to Greece is the excursion to Salamis, Eleusis, and the monastery of the Phaenomena, on which we went by invitation from the son of our landlady, Georgios Poullos, under the auspices of the Diagoras, an athletic society of young Greeks. Greeks they were in pride for the past of Greece, glowing with the fervor of patriotism as they listened to the old gymnasium professor as he pointed out the various positions of the Greeks and Persians and told how their forefathers had defeated the barbarians in that strait over whose waters we were steaming. The flag overhead also bore witness that old Greece was enshrined in the hearts of young athletic Greece. On its folds was read the word "Diagoras," recalling the head of the most famous of the athletic families of ancient Hellas.

Diagoras, his three sons, and two grandsons won victories at Olympia. The youngest son, Dorieus, and Diagoras were *periodonikae*, or victors, at all the great national games. Around the latter were grouped the statues of his sons and grandsons, which Pausanias saw at Olympia: Acusilaos, who received the crown for the men's boxing; Dorieus, who defeated all competitors in the pankration three times in succession; Damagetus, victor in the pankration; then Diagoras himself, whose statue was the work of Kallikles of Megara. After him stood Eukles, his daughter Kallipateira's son, crowned in the men's boxing, a statue by Naukudes; lastly, Pherenike's (or Kallipateira's) son, Peisidoros, champion boxer among the boys. These were no doubt typical statues. Pliny asserts that only winners of triple victories were allowed to set up portrait statues. If this was correct, Dorieus would be the only one of the group to be represented in his true

¹Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

likeness. However, Pliny is very certainly not accurate in this statement, and, besides, portrait statues belong to the following century.

When his two eldest sons came to Olympia to enter the lists, Diagoras accompanied them. Both were victorious on the same day and in their enthusiasm caught up the old man on their shoulders and carried him pelted with flowers through the admiring crowd. A Spartan standing by exclaimed, "Die, Diagoras, for there is no climbing up to heaven for you." Gellius at a later day than Cicero and Pausanias tells the story with the presence of all three sons victors on the same day, which caused such joy to their father that he died from its excess.

Diagoras was the great-grandson of Damagetus, who was ruling at Ialysos in Rhodes at the time Aristomenes came to the island an exile from Messene. This man's daughter Damagetus married, for he decided that Aristomenes was the man meant by the oracle of Apollo when the god had told him, in answer to his inquiry concerning a wife, that he should marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. The ruling family in Ialysos was of Heraclid descent, from Tlepolemos, son of Heracles, and were known as Eratidae. The royal power of the Eratidae had long ceased, prytanes ruling in their place. Diagoras' father was perhaps a prytanis.

Boxing was one of the oldest and most popular of sports among the Greeks. Mythology contains several stories of boxers. The myth that tells of the defeat in boxing of Ares at the hands of Apollo is, says Gardiner, "a conclusive proof that boxing was regarded by the Greeks as a contest of skill rather than of brute strength." The Greeks of the islands of the eastern Mediterranean and of the coasts of Asia Minor were especially devoted to the "manly art of self-defense." This popularity of the sport was a tradition from times immemorial, from the time when Minos and the Minoans held sway in Crete and were lords of the sea, for the discoveries in the island of Crete show that boxing was there an art long before Greek times. When the Ionians gathered at Delos, boxing formed a part of the festival. Onomastus of Smyrna was

credited with having been the maker of the laws that governed the boxing contests at Olympia. It was but a part of the tradition that Rhodes should send boxers to the games of Hellas.

Diagoras, most famous of Greek boxers, won the victory in men's boxing at Olympia in 464 B.C. The poet Pindar wrote his seventh Olympian to commemorate the victory, and the ode, so the story ran, was preserved in the temple of Athene at Lindos, written in letters of gold. The poem is strangely crossed by a shadow; passion had wrought its woe in the line of the victor's ancestors, and Diagoras is warned that he should not be overtaken by passion. Nemesis does not allow too much happiness. The old scholiast assumed that Diagoras had killed one of his opponents. "In one and the same space of time the changing breezes blow in contrary directions," warns the poet, uttering a prayer that Zeus should honor the man who had won renown with his fists. Besides winning victories in many local games, Diagoras was crowned at all the great national festivals. His good fortune became proverbial.

Whether Diagoras lived to see the downfall of his house is not known. A few years after the victory at Olympia the democratic party in Rhodes with the help of the Athenians gained the ascendancy in the island. Some of Diagoras' family certainly went to Thurii in Southern Italy, since Dorieus and his nephew entered the lists at Olympia as citizens of this city.

Diagoras had three sons, all crowned at Olympia; two daughters are mentioned. The two eldest sons, Acusilaus and Damagetus, won, the first the boxing, the latter the pankration, when occurred the incident of their carrying the older man on their shoulders.

Scarcely, if at all, less famous than the father was the youngest son, Dorieus. Of him Pausanias relates that he won the pankration at Olympia at three successive festivals; at the Isthmian games eight victories fell to his lot; two less than eight at Nemea; at Delphi in the Pythian games no one would meet him, so that he is said to have won here "without dust," *ἀκονιτεί*, that is, without having dusted his body with the fine sand which athletes used before exercise.

The pankration was a combination of boxing and wrestling, a rough-and-tumble contest at the first, which permitted of pummeling, kicking, biting, and even gouging out of eyes. The story of Alcibiades is familiar to every reader of Plutarch. Alcibiades, being hard pressed and about to be thrown, bit his opponent's hand, whereupon the latter let go his hold and exclaimed, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," he replied, "like a lion." But such a contest was too rough and undisciplined for athletic competition and had to be systematized, so at the great games it was something quite different from the early rough-and-tumble. It was governed by the laws of the games and was, at least in the best period, a contest no less of skill than of strength, such as we should expect of the Greeks. Jiu-jitsu would be its nearest modern equivalent, a science that proves that such contests may be conducted without any brutality as contests of pure skill. The pankration, says Philostratos, who has given us the fullest account of this sport, was the fairest of all the contests. No contest was more popular than the pankration. It was controlled by rules which were enforced both in the wrestling schools and in the games by trainers and officials under public control. Public opinion called for the enforcing of the rules.

From the city of Thurii, Dorieus returned to Rhodes after the island had again become aristocratic through the help of the Peloponnesians. He entered with whole heart into the war, on the Spartan side. At the beginning of the winter of 411 B.C. he was sailing at daybreak one morning into the Hellespont with fourteen ships which he apparently had equipped at his own expense, when the Athenian lookout reported his approach. Twenty ships put out to attack him. Bringing his ships to the shore, he drove back the Athenians, although they outnumbered him by six, and forced them to retire without inflicting any serious damage. Later, when the war had drawn near its close, Dorieus was sailing in a vessel of Thurii which was captured and taken into Piraeus. Although the Athenians had long laid a price on his head, his relations also being threatened with death, when they saw standing before them in the garb of a prisoner a man of such imposing presence and of such renown, they were filled with awe and

pity and let him go without even exacting ransom. Some years later it chanced that Rhodes was brought again under the influence of reviving Athens. Dorieus, who happened to be at the time on the coast of the Peloponnesus, was arrested and taken to Sparta. With these hard warriors his person and his fame worked no pity. He was put to death. Pausanias, be it remarked, after relating on the authority of Androtion's *History of Attica* that Dorieus so met his death, expresses doubt of the accuracy of the story, because, as he thought, Androtion wished to offset the hasty condemnation of the Athenian generals after the battle of Arginousae by a similar outburst of passion on the part of the Spartans.

Women were not allowed to attend the games of the men at Olympia; they had a festival of their own. Their absence from the former was due, so Gardiner supposes, to some religious taboo rather than to any sense of modesty or decorum, as such a feeling could not have existed in those times. Ionian women certainly attended the festival at Delos, and Spartan girls took part in all athletic exercises with the boys. On the road to Olympia before the Alpheus is crossed, just out of Skillous, is a precipitous mountain to which the name Typaeum was given. The law in Elis was that women caught at the festival at Olympia should be hurled down this mountain, or even if during the days forbidden them they should cross the Alpheus. They say, in the words of Pausanias, that no woman was ever caught, except Kallipateira alone, or, as some call her, Pherenike. Her husband being dead, she dressed as a trainer and accompanied her young son Peisidorus to Olympia, who was to enter the boxing contest for boys. When he won, in the excitement of the moment she forgot herself and disclosed her identity. The penalty was not, however, inflicted on her, because it was recognized how irresistibly she was drawn to the spot where her father and her brothers had been crowned victors and her own son was to contend. In consequence of this infringement of the law it was made impossible for another woman to come in the same manner: the trainers were to appear in the same manner as the contestants.

No other victor of the family of Diagoras is recorded. Greek athletics also now lose their amateur character; the professional begins to appear.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD OF ATHENIAN EDUCATION AND MODERN EDUCATION

BY J. C. MORGAN
York College, Nebraska

In considering the status of education at the present time, it may not be out of place to make a brief comparison of it with that of the transition period of Athenian education. It is admitted at once that conclusions drawn from analogies and comparisons need further corroboration, but there are certain points of similarity in comparison to be made in this paper which are so striking that they need little proof. Neither can it be inferred that, because certain results followed in the history of Athens, the same results will follow in America. History, however, repeats itself and, other things being equal, similar conditions lead to similar results.

The outstanding features of present educational theory and practice may be summed up as follows: first, a revolt against the past; secondly, growth of the state system of education with its consequent democratization; thirdly, the basing of education upon psychology; fourthly, a demand for the practical in education; fifthly, the appearance of so-called vocational courses in our schools.

Admitting that these are some of the present tendencies in our own education, we are next to examine the conditions that prevailed in Athenian education, beginning during the latter part of the fifth century.

Old Athenian education was divided into two parts: gymnastics for the body and music for the soul. For the former the boy went to the palaestra; for the latter, to the music school (the term music including all the literary elements that were taught). The purpose of this education was to develop mental capacity; it was not the learning of facts. These studies and the physical exercises of the palaestra looked, not toward the making of scholars, but rather to the development of the powers of body and mind. Its

aim was not to fit the boy for some trade or profession, but to make him a useful citizen. The Athenian boy by means of the Homeric literature was filled with the glories of the past, and thus patriotism was engendered. And this literary element which the boy imbibed was not just any sort of literature, but was the most beautiful and artistic that had ever been written. The mastery of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, representing as they did the whole gamut of human feeling and achievement, was, like the mastery of our Bible, an education in itself. By means of these poems the aesthetic feeling was also instilled, so that the Athenian boy upon becoming a man could distinguish between the crude and the perfect in art. The justification of the Old Athenian education is found in the victory at Marathon and in the perfect tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles. It is found in the sculpture of Phidias and in the statesmanship of Themistocles and Pericles. The wisdom of this system of education was abundantly justified in its children.

With the establishment of the Athenian Empire, by means of which Athens was brought to a greater degree into contact with the rest of the world, new opportunities arose; and with the growth of democracy a change came over the character of education at Athens. An education was demanded which would be suited to the new condition and which would fit one for taking part in the government. There was a change also in the thought-life of the time. Belief in the mythology changed to skepticism. Philosophy ceased its inquiries into the nature of the universe and sought after an ethical basis. It came to believe that the "proper study for mankind is man." As a result there arose a class of teachers who asserted that they could teach everything. They gave information concerning all questions—political, ethical, and social—of the day. They found, too, a ready hearing. The severer discipline of the music school and the palaestra was deserted for the more inviting life of discussion, arguing, and the amassing of information. By these means one could fit himself for any of the numerous political offices of the government of Athens. These courses in our day would be classed as lectures, sociology, economics, ethics, public speaking, and the like. The results of this new education were individualism, a weakening of the bond between

the citizen and the state, laxness in morals, and misdirected political activities. There is not space to discuss all these, but one example of the last-named will be sufficient.

During the Peloponnesian War the question of the advisability of an expedition to Sicily arose. It was championed by Alcibiades and opposed by Nicias. The democracy sided with Alcibiades. The assembly was led to put aside its good judgment and to give its vote to an enterprise that could only fail. Had such a plan been proposed fifty years before, it would have been overwhelmingly rejected. The Athenians had so long been listening to the cheap sophistry of the new teachers, had so long been believing the worse to be the better, and the better the worse reason, that they were no longer capable of forming a correct judgment, were no longer able to reason accurately or to counsel wisely. We can scarcely imagine Themistocles favoring such a wild scheme.

We shall next notice the history of education in our own country. Fifty years ago the main subjects of study in the common schools were reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling. In higher education mathematics, the classical languages, philosophy, and science constituted practically the whole curriculum. These subjects were more formal or disciplinary in character—that is, they furnished training rather than facts for the mind of the pupil or student. A few things well learned was the object, if not always the result, of this system. Today all this is changed. The tendencies enumerated at the beginning of this paper are now dominant, and a greatly expanded curriculum both in elementary and in higher education is an accepted fact. It will be seen, then, that the same forces have been at work with us as were at work in Athens during the period under discussion: a revolt against severe training and discipline, a desire for courses that will lead to some remunerative employment or office, and a revolutionized way of thinking. We are demanding short cuts in education; short courses that soon equip for the battle of life are eagerly sought. Students are asking, What good will this or that course do me? Students who persist in saying, "I seen," "I have saw," "He has went," or "had ought," wonder what good Latin will ever do them. We are becoming as rationalistic and individualistic as the Athenians in the days of Protagoras

and Alcibiades. Undergraduates are trying to solve the perplexing problems of sociology and economics before they have learned to reason or to think clearly.

Two other points of comparison are these: in the older Athenian education the master Homer was read almost exclusively; later, Homer gave way before the Sophists. Today one curse of our educational system is secondary authorities and inferior writers. Thirty years ago students in our colleges were reading, besides the ancient classics, Green, Grote, Gibbon, Mill, Adam Smith, Darwin, and other great leaders, thinkers, and writers on political, historical, sociological, and scientific subjects. Today often the head of a university department has a text on his particular subject which the student is compelled to read, though the book may not rise above mediocrity. Textbooks have taken the place of the masterpieces, and the result is that the student loses the inspiration that comes from reading the work of a great thinker. Especially is this true in the case of psychology, education, and history.

The Athenian boy learned many things from Homer—history, patriotism, ethics, humanity, and aesthetics. A generation ago students in our colleges, in mastering the classical languages and literature, learned history, philosophy, sociology, ethics, education, and logic as well. Today by neglect of the classics each of these subjects must be studied separately, and the unity of the whole is lost. The student forgets that, whatever he is studying, he is studying a part of life and that it must be viewed in its relation to other parts. We are not contending for the all-sufficiency of the classics as a means of education. They alone are probably far from sufficient at the present day. We are simply pointing out a difference.

A waste of our present educational system is that the student spends time upon subjects which a wide-awake boy or girl will learn from newspapers, magazines, lectures, and the many other means of popular education in existence today. At the same time he misses those subjects which, if not taken there, will in all probability never be taken.

All this may be regarded by some as mere hue and cry. But who is satisfied with the results of the present system? Is the

business man, who employs its graduates who cannot spell or write correctly "the King's English"? Is the high school, which complains of the grades, or the universities, which complain of the high school? Has there not been a lowering of the intellectual tone, a weakening of the mental fiber, of our students? Are we not constantly under the compulsion of making our courses easier and of reducing the subject-matter of teaching to simpler terms and forms?

We are not predicting that the fate of Athens will be the fate of America, and that because of her educational system. But we do maintain that caution should be exercised lest we attain intellectual breadth at the expense of depth and think, because we are acquainted with many facts, that we are wise; that hearing a lecture on some present-day problem gives us the intellectual acumen sufficient to solve it. For we must have not only the facts, but the power as well to adjust the facts. Let us "beware that our northern laurels do not turn to southern willows."

ON THE FORCE OF *HOMINIS* IN CAESAR *B.G.* v. 58. 6.

By B. O. FOSTER

Leland Stanford Junior University

In the closing chapters of the fifth book Caesar tells the story of the stratagem employed by Labienus against Indutiomarus. It was an old trick; Q. Titurius Sabinus had employed it against the Venelli in the year 56;¹ Caesar was himself indebted to it for the important victory he had just gained in his campaign to relieve Q. Cicero;² and it succeeded perfectly in the present instance. The Gauls had for some time been striving to provoke the legionaries to give battle. Riding up to their camp almost daily, the Gallic horsemen hurled their missiles over the rampart and challenged the Romans to come out and fight. But Labienus kept his men close within the works and sought in every way to convey the impression that he was afraid to risk an engagement. He even managed to admit certain squadrons of friendly cavalry, under cover of darkness, without permitting Indutiomarus to learn of his reinforcement. Finally the Gauls, after a day spent in taunting the Romans in the customary manner, began to scatter and to withdraw for the night. Labienus now had the opportunity he had been waiting for. Suddenly sending his cavalry out through two of the gates with orders to fall upon the enemy and disperse them, but not to strike a blow at any other Gaul until they had killed Indutiomarus, lest the prime object of his vengeance might escape in the mêlée, he offered large rewards to those who would slay the Gallic chief, and ordered out his infantry in the wake of the cavalry to support them. The result is summed up by Caesar in these words: "*Comprobat hominis consilium Fortuna et cum unum omnes peterent in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur caputque eius refertur in castra; redeuntes equites quos possunt consecantur atque occidunt.*"

¹ *B.G.* iii. 17-19.

² *B.G.* v. 50. Compare the analogous cases described by Livy, 2. 45 and 3. 60.

The question I propose to discuss is why Caesar wrote *hominis* instead of *Labieni* or *eius*, and the answer would seem to be indicated clearly in the following collection of examples from a variety of authors, which show that the antithesis between human wisdom and an overruling power—call it the goddess Fortune, or chance, as you please—was a commonplace of Roman thought, and was unquestionably in Caesar's mind when he was describing the ruse of Labienus and its successful outcome.

The earliest expression of the idea is in Plautus, *Pseud.* 678, "*centum doctum hominum consilia sola haec devincit dea, Fortuna.*"¹ The other examples follow in approximately chronological order: Cicero *Font.* 43, "*virum ad consilia prudentem, ad casum fortunamque felicem*"; Tull. 51, "*haec enim tacita lex est humanitatis ut ab homine consilii non fortunae poena repetatur*"; Balb. 9, "*cui . . . casus eventusque rerum non duces sed comites consiliorum fuerunt*"; Tusc. ii. 11, "*fortes enim non modo Fortuna adiuvat, ut est in vetere proverbio, sed multo magis ratio*";² v. 25. (from Callisthenes), "*Vitam regit Fortuna, non sapientia.*"³ Lael. 20, "*illa bona posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in Fortunae temeritate*"; *Ad Att.* xiv. 11. 1, "*haec Fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat*";⁴ Caesar *B.G.* vii. 20. 2, "*fortuito aut sine consilio*"; Hirtius *B.G.* viii. 43. 5, "*ut id non hominum consilio sed deorum voluntate factum putarent*"; Sallust *Iug.* 92. 6, "*sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta*"; Publilius Syrus 192, "*Fortuna ad hominem plus quam consilium valet*";⁵ Livy, v. 19. 8, "*Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est*";⁶ vi. 23. 9, "*neque se neque Populum Romanum aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse*"; vii. 2. 3, "*nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina*"; ix. 31. 7, "*quidam forte, pars consilio oblata*"; xxii. 49. 14, "*consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini*"; xxxviii. 8. 5, "*quid enim sibi consilium aut cuius rei electionem a fortuna relictum?*" iv. 40. 3, "*Fortuna, quae plus consiliis humanis pollet*";⁷ xlv. 5. 1, "*adiuvit in hoc eum res seu casu contracta seu*

¹ Cited by Otto, *Sprichwörter u. sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, s.v. "Fortuna," 7.

² Otto, s.v. "Fortuna," 9.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

consilio"; Seneca *Contr.* xxii. 18. 9, "*ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat*"; Rutilius Lupus, ii. 8, "*vos aequum est voluntatem dispicere: nam consilio valuit, fortuna lapsus est*"; Quintus Curtius vi. 6. 27, "*Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit Fortuna consilium subministravit*";¹ Seneca *Dial.* iii. 11. 5, "*Perierat imperium, quod tunc in extremo stabat, si Fabius tantum ausus esset quantum ira suadebat: habuit in consilio fortunam publicam,*" etc.; Petronius 82, "*Non multum oportet consilio credere, quia suam habet Fortuna rationem*";² Tacitus *Hist.* i. 31, "*forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio.*"

Now Caesar seldom interrupts his narrative to moralize, but he had learned from many incidents which had come under his own observation (the most extraordinary being that related at *B.G.* vi. 35 ff.) the importance of the rôle which Fortune plays in all human affairs, and especially in war, and he several times takes occasion to point it out: *Multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest Fortuna.*³ It is this thought which occurs to him when he is relating the pains that Labienus took to make an end of the crafty and dangerous Indutiomarus. The commander who plans a general engagement with a view to the destruction of one particular enemy is taking long chances. Labienus had done what was humanly possible to guard against failure, but the outcome lay on the knees of the gods. Caesar might, to be sure, have expressed this thought without using the word *hominis*. Thus "*Comprobat eius consilium Fortuna*" would have been sufficiently plain, but it would not have been equally pointed. It was wholly for rhetorical reasons that Caesar preferred *hominis* to *eius*. As in the example cited above from Plautus, it sharpens the contrast between *consilium* and *Fortuna*, which in Plautus is still further emphasized by putting *dea* with *Fortuna*—human counsels v. the divine power of Fortune.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* The following citations given by Otto show that the antithesis had been familiar to the Greeks before it appeared in Latin literature: *Chaerem.* fr. 2, p. 789 N, *τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματα* οὐκ εὐβουλία (= Menand. monost. 725); fr. com. adesp. 147 Kock, *Γνώμη γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ἡ τύχη δὲ πᾶν*; *Diogen. Sinop.* fr. 2, p. 809 N, *θελω τύχης σταλινγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πίθον* (Men. monost. 240).

³ *B.G.* vi. 35. 2; cf. *B.C.* iii. 68. 1; *B.C.* iii. 10. 6.

If it should appear that I have used an inordinate quantity of ammunition to bring down a very small bird, and have followed somewhat too closely the example of Labienus, who ordered out an army corps to dispatch a single Gaul, I can only plead that the misunderstanding I have tried to clear up has been as persistent as Indutiomarus himself and as hard to dispose of. It was in 1853, so far as I can find out, that the rhetorical fitness of *hominis* was first pointed out, namely by Kraner in his edition of the *Gallic War*. Kraner did not cite any parallels to Caesar's idea, probably thinking it so obvious that none were required, but in the sixteenth edition of Kraner, as revised by Dittenberger (Berlin, 1898²), the original note is neatly altered so as to interpret *hominis* as employed in the sense of *eius*, and the reader is left to explain as best he can why Caesar (of all writers!) did not say *eius*, if *eius* was what he meant. It is true that St. George Stock (Oxford, 1898) thinks that there may "perhaps" be an antithesis intended between *hominis* and *Fortuna*, and Fügner (Leipzig, 1904³) and Kleist (Leipzig, 1910) understand the word correctly. Fügner says: "Der Erfolg rechtfertigt die menschliche Berechnung. *Fortuna* ist als Glücksgöttin persönlich gedacht." Kleist's comment is: "*Fortuna* is hier, wie auch sonst nicht selten, als göttliches Wesen gedacht; darauf weist der Ausdruck *comprobat* und der in *hominis* liegende Gegensatz ein." The other editors to whose notes I have had access with one exception eschew all explanation, and are content either to ignore the word or to gloss it with *eius*² or *illius*.³ The exception is Mr. Rice Holmes, whose edition of the *Commentaries* (Oxford, 1914) contains probably the most useful, as they are certainly the most interesting, notes on Caesar that we possess today.

But before looking at Mr. Holmes's comment it will be well to consider Kraner's, since I suggest it may have been in Kraner that

² The seventeenth edition, with introduction and notes rewritten by Meusel, is now in course of publication, but Vol. II, containing the fifth book, had not appeared when the war broke out in 1914.

³ E.g., Doberenz-Dinter (Leipzig, 1890⁹), Towle and Jenks (Boston, 1903). Menge (Gotha, 1899) says, "*homo* vertritt das Demonstrativum." Westcott (Boston, 1902): *hominis*, *his*, as if it were a pronoun.

³ Walther (Paderborn, 1881).

Mr. Holmes found the germ which developed into his own interpretation of *hominis*. Kraner's original comment is the following:

Das Glück bestätigt (durch den Erfolg), zeigt als gut und zweckmässig den Plan des Menschen, *hominis*, nicht bloss statt eine gennante Person zurückweisend, sondern mit dem Nebebegriff natürlicher Tüchtigkeit, wie auch wir 'Mensch' brauchen (*ad personae significationem indolis et naturae in persona conspicuae significatio accedit*. Schneider). Vergl. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 22. 49. [*Ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret (vide quid homini tribuam), ipsa auctoritate me frangeret.*]

If I am right in regarding the sentence in Caesar as an example of the commonplace reflected in the passages quoted above, it is not likely that he meant by *hominis* anything more than that Labienus was subject to the universal limitations of humanity. "We are all weak creatures," as Mrs. Corney justly observed to Mr. Bumble. "Man proposes, but God disposes," our English proverb has it. Kraner's note would therefore have been nearer the mark if he had substituted *Gebrechlichkeit* for *Tüchtigkeit*. The sentence which he cites from Cicero lends no support to his interpretation of *hominis*, for in the passage from the *Tusculans*, *homini* would seem to be used, not in a complimentary, but in a depreciatory, sense. Cicero means: "See what confidence I have [not in a *god*, which would not be strange, but] in a *man*." By reminding us that Plato is after all only human Cicero enhances the effect of his profession of loyalty to him and his readiness to follow blindly wherever the master may lead.

Mr. Holmes's note runs thus:

Hominis. See the note on 7, § 9.¹ I doubt whether our language can adequately express the compliment which the word implies (though Schneider may be right in thinking that it is used with a touch of irony). If Caesar had written in English, he might perhaps have said, "the general's" (good fortune),² suggesting that Labienus was a good general.

Thus Kraner's *tüchtiger Mensch* becomes "the general," and the proverbial antithesis between *man's wits* and *Fortune* almost drops out of sight.

¹ *Hominem*. The word here shows animosity, while in 58, § 6, as we shall see, *hominis* implies admiration. *Circumsistunt hominem* might be translated by "surrounded the fellow."

² "Good fortune" is obviously a slip. Mr. Holmes meant to write "plan," but the fact that he made the slip goes to indicate that he was not thinking of the antithesis when he wrote his note, but of Caesar's admiration of Labienus.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

A POINT IN THE ARGUMENT OF PLATO'S *APOLOGY* (32a)

A better case of Socratic irony can hardly be found than in the exordium of the *Apology*, where Socrates tells the judges that he will speak at random (17c) and that he is unfamiliar with forensic oratory (17d). Professor R. J. Bonner has shown (*Classical Philology*, III, 169-77) how closely the *Apology* conforms, albeit unostentatiously, to the requirements of Athenian legal procedure, and it is recognized that the arguments in their general arrangement are far from being *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα*. The present note deals with a point which is vital to the argument of the *digressio* (28a-34b).

This division of the *Apology*, which contains some of the noblest passages in all literature, takes the form of a rebuttal of possible objections, and at first glance seems to be a rather general vindication of Socrates' peculiar manner of life. But on closer examination it is seen that in spite of the apparent digressions Socrates is confining himself to the specific charge of atheism (as Meletus has interpreted the indictment) and of corrupting the youth. This is intimated toward the close of his answer to the first objection (29b): τὸ δ' ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίονι, καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν οἶδα, κτλ. The bearing of his fear of doing wrong upon the charge of corrupting the youth Socrates reserves for later discussion, as we shall see, and proceeds to explain how, as the apostle of ethical idealism, he has been obeying the command of God—which implies belief in the gods, as he has already stated (29a). This leads him to touch upon the charge that he had introduced strange *δαίμονια*, for the natural objection might be made to his claim to a divine mission that if God had commanded him to be a "gadfly" he ought to have taken part in legislative debates (31c). It was difficult to answer this objection convincingly to an Athenian jury, and so he presents "strong evidence," which he calls "tiresome court-commonplaces," because of the reference to his public services (32a). Apparently he has in mind to prove nothing more than that his *δαίμόνιον* must have been a "voice from heaven," because its warning not to enter public life was proved by experience to have been justified. But the words, ἀκούσατε δὴ μου τὰ συμβεβηκότα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ ὑπεικάθοιμι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον (32a), introduce another consideration—in fact, they prepare the way for bringing back the argument to the charge of corrupting the youth, which is taken up at 33a. The key to the sudden shift in the argument is found in the use of οὐδ' ἐνὶ instead of οὐδέν ("yield to no one," instead of "yield no point"). This is clear when

we compare 33a, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίον δημοσίᾳ τε εἰ πού τι ἔπραξα, τοιοῦτος φανοῦμαι, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὐδενὶ πρόποτε συγχωρήσας οὐδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἄλλω οὔτε τούτων οὐδενὶ οὐς οἱ διαβάλλοντές μὲ φασιν ἐμὸν μαθητὰς εἶναι. Socrates cannot prove that no young man who has been with him has been corrupted. His challenge to the prosecution to put on the witness stand the fathers or brothers who are present is, of course, helpful in establishing his innocence. But the jury must have felt that the careers of Critias and Alcibiades outweighed all the others. Socrates cannot directly clear himself of the charge that he was somewhat responsible for the harm which these two former "pupils" of his had done Athens. His argument that he neither promised nor gave instruction to anyone (33b) is not convincing. But evidence which tended to prove that he never made a wrong concession to anyone, even at the risk of his life, has greater weight. That Socrates actually had Critias and Alcibiades in mind when he used οὐδ' ἐνί in 32a seems more probable when we compare 32c, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν [the trial of the generals] ἦν ἐν δημοκρατουμένης τῆς πόλεως ἐπειδὴ δ' ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, κτλ., with Xen. *Mem.*, i. 2. 12, "ἀλλ'," ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος [who was doubtless giving expression to what at the time of the trial had been the common opinion], "Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένῳ Κριτίας καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλείστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποιήσατην" Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων κλέπτιστος τε καὶ βιαιότατος καὶ φονικώτατος ἐγένετο, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρατέστατος τε καὶ ὑβριστικώτατος καὶ βιαιότατος.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
BURLINGTON

XENOPHON *Anabasis* i. 5. 9

This passage is given in Marchant's Oxford text as follows: καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἀρχῇ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἰ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο. No passage in the *Anabasis* causes the beginner more trouble than this, and the recent American editors all merely increase the difficulty by wrongly interpreting the construction. The annotators, at least from Goodwin and White down, assume that συνιδεῖν stands in the completed sentence as the subject of the verb ἦν. Either by implication or by direct assertion the student is led to assign the meaning of possibility to the verb ἦν. Naturally enough, the student finds it difficult to understand why the direct object of the verb should stand in the nominative case (ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα). The editors lead him to think that such is the construction here, and add by way of explanation that the nominative is used because the writer's point of view shifts and he then has in mind some such phrase as δῆλη ἦν, which would require the nominative. "Possibly Xenophon was interrupted in the middle of the sentence, and when he wrote ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα

he was under the impression that something like *δήλη ἦν ἡ ἀρχή* had gone before" (Mather and Hewitt). In other words, the student is told that here the grammar is faulty. Now it is true that in the course of a long sentence the writer's or speaker's point of view may shift. We have all doubtless noticed such shifts in our own writing or speech. But it does not necessarily follow that the resultant sentence is grammatically faulty. There may be some little turn of phrase, some little peculiarity of word order, that may betray a shift in the process of thought that has taken place. But there has been nothing so serious as to require even the stickler for correct grammar to reconstruct his sentence. Such a sentence Xenophon has written here. I believe, with all the recent editors, that at first Xenophon had hazily in mind some such construction as they suggest, but as the sentence was unfolded there was a shift in thought *and construction as well*. This is far from saying that the resulting sentence overleaps the barrier of correct grammar. On the contrary, this sentence is quite grammatical, and was correctly explained by the earlier editors, as I discovered when I began to search. So Boise, Kelsey, and Harper-Wallace, to mention a few. The error seems to be of recent origin and should be no longer propagated. In the completed sentence the infinitive *συνιδεῖν* is not the subject of *ἦν*, but is the very common epexegetic infinitive. The nominative forms *ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα . . . ἀσθενής* agree with the subject of *ἦν* (*ἀρχή* to be inferred from *ἀρχῇ*. The difference in manuscript reading does not change the construction here defended); "being strong it was to see," "that it was strong was to be seen by him who concentrated his attention upon it."

A sentence closely resembling this one may be seen in *Anab.* i. 2. 21. I quote only the pertinent clause: *καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεύσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρον*. In reading this clause the first impulse is to regard *τριήρεις* as the object of *ἤκουε*, and such was probably the construction originally in the author's mind. But as the sentence unfolds, details are added and so the accusative *Ταμὼν ἔχοντα* is introduced, perturbing the normal word order. We must take this interjected accusative as depending upon *ἤκουε* and then explain *τριήρεις . . . περιπλεύσας* as depending on *ἔχοντα*. The grammar is faultless, but the unusual word order betrays the shift of thought, or rather the enlargement of thought. This added detail would have been relegated to a footnote by a modern writer, and the normal order would have been preserved. There is no need for regarding *Ταμὼν ἔχοντα* as a gloss.

In both of these sentences, then, shift of thought has given us a perturbation of word order; but we should not regard as ungrammatical a sentence that displays merely unusual word order.

G. C. SCOGGIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

The Southern California Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States met on December 21 at Los Angeles. The program was as follows: "Today's Demands on the Latin Teacher," Professor Alexis F. Lange, University of California; "Ancient Greece in Modern Thought," Hon. J. Stitt Wilson, Berkeley; "Ancient City Planning and Some Modern Applications" (illustrated), Professor Fairclough, Leland Stanford Junior University; "Some Reconstructions of Class Work," Mr. J. E. Donaldson, Fullerton Junior College; "Latin Programs," Miss Josephine Arnoldy, Santa Ana High School; "The Women of Caesar's Family," Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California.

Illinois

Litchfield High School.—The Freshmen, Sophomore, and Senior Latin classes recently entertained the high-school faculty by a Latin program under the supervision of Miss Dougherty. The program consisted of three parts. The first one, given by the Seniors, was as follows: An introductory synopsis of Oration I, Catiline, of Cicero, by Inez Caldwell. Readings of Cicero's orations against Catiline by Sloman Ball, John Street, and Clifford Cannon. Recitation of several Latin songs by Mary Stansifer.

The Freshmen then entertained the school by the recitation of a number of Latin idioms which showed much skill on their part.

The Sophomores gave a play entitled *Coniuratio Orgelorigis*, consisting of four parts. This was much enjoyed by the whole school, and the actors showed that they really possessed talent along that line.

We hope that since this program by the Latin classes was so much appreciated it will be followed by many more.

Peoria.—The Classical Club at Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Illinois, is one of the liveliest and most valuable of the many organizations of

that school. Membership limit has been fixed at forty, but the appeal for the privilege of joining has proved so strong that recently additional members have been admitted. Mrs. Katherine Walters Sutton, of the Latin department, has general oversight in the matter of program and procedure, and her enthusiasm inspires and directs. The students do the work. The following are typical items in different programs.

The familiar myth of the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas, who, although mortal, thought he could excel the deity in his skill upon the flute, was most cleverly dramatized by two junior-college students and presented at one of the meetings.

At another, twelve pantomime or shadow pictures were gracefully and artistically posed. They represented twelve of the more popular Greek myths—Atlas supporting the world, Penelope's web, etc. A student standing in front of the screen gave a brief outline of each myth.

A very cunning and novel way of presenting some facts with regard to Roman life, and especially the similarity of their ideas and activities to those of the present day, was devised by a first-year college student. It took the form of an "at home" where three girls had gathered to knit, and as usual engaged in small talk over the teacups. The craze for amusement and the tendency to extravagance among the Americans of today naturally turned their conversation to some stories about the luxurious entertainments of ancient Rome. Athletic sports, which assume so prominent a place in the student's mind today, served to bring out vivid descriptions of Roman sports and games, and so most ingeniously the minds of the listeners were supplied with many a picture of ancient life in a manner much more effective than through a formal paper.

For the last meeting the story of Philemon and Baucis, adapted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, was presented in dramatized form. A very effective item was a dialogue in costume between a self-made Roman and his wife on the high cost of living. This gave opportunity to introduce the kinds and cost of foods among the Romans, a description of their meals, and the like. The dialogue was composed for the occasion by Mrs. Sutton.

At the next meeting a bazaar will be held. Each member is to bring a facsimile of some ancient object—a war weapon, a doll properly dressed in toga or chiton, a model of some piece of furniture, a book, etc. The maker must describe in detail and be able to answer questions. Each article is then to be sold *sub hasta*. This promises to be an interesting program and one which will bring out a multitude of facts about the Greeks and Romans.

Iowa

The Iowa State Teachers' Association held its annual meeting at Des Moines on November 1, 2, and 3. Following are the programs of the classical round tables:

Latin.—Leader, Pearl Palmer, Fort Dodge; Secretary, Julia Padmore, Des Moines. The following papers were read: "The Mission of the Latin Teacher," President Charles W. Flint, Cornell College; "College Entrance Requirements," Eva F. Stahl, Fort Dodge; "What Shall We Give the Two-Year Latin Pupil?" Olive Williams, Ottumwa; "Session of the Iowa Auxiliary Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South," Dr. F. C. Eastman, University of Iowa.

The formal program was followed by five-minute talks: "How I Teach Derivatives," Mary A. Moore, Oskaloosa; "A Community Latin Club," Hazel Hull, Osceola; "Teaching Pupils to Translate," Edith Sanford, Mason City.

Greek.—The round table united in the program with the Iowa State Hellenic Society. President William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, was in the chair. The following papers were read: "A Day at Delphi" (illustrated with lantern views), Professor Charles H. Weller, State University; "College Courses in Greek" (to be supplied); "The History Spirit in Teaching," Dr. Charles H. Meyerholz, Iowa State Teachers' College; "Motivation in Geography," Dr. Emmett J. Cable, Iowa State Teachers' College.

Massachusetts

The Western Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England met at the Drury High School, North Adams, on October 20. The members of the Association appreciated the opportunity to inspect the new building of the school, so completely equipped to meet the needs of an industrial community. They learned with special pleasure from the address of welcome by Dr. Gadsby, the principal, that the necessary response to the demand for vocational education has not implied in North Adams the neglect of classical studies. Classes in Greek as well as in Latin are regularly maintained.

Professor Mary Gilmore Williams, of Mount Holyoke College, presided at the meeting. The first paper of the morning program was a discussion by Professor George E. Howes, of Williams College, of "Three Greek Coins" found at Eleusis: two illustrating Attic cults, and the third—one of the most interesting of the type—representing the Acropolis. The slides not only showed the coins, but recalled pleasantly the speaker's visits to the famous shrine where they were discovered. Professor Mary Belle McElwain, of Smith College, presented "Some Reflections on Teaching the *Aeneid*" which suggested possibilities of developing in high-school classes a more genuine appreciation of the poetic and historical significance of Vergil. An incidental feature of this paper which was much enjoyed was Miss McElwain's clear and expressive reading from the *Aeneid*. Miss Ruth Elizabeth Sanderson, of the West Springfield High School, described "A Small Classical Club" which has stimulated interest in Latin. "The Junior College in Springfield" was the subject of a paper by Miss Emilie de Rochemont, of the Springfield High School. Miss de Rochemont spoke of the aims and opportunities of this new factor in

the municipal educational system of Springfield, with special reference to the prospects of classical studies.

After the luncheon served in the school by the department of domestic science the section met again to hear a report by Professor George Dwight Kellogg, of Union College, who had been asked to give an account of "The Purpose and Plan of the New York State Classical Reading League." He described the method of its organization and mentioned some of the difficulties it had encountered and the needs it had brought to light. A discussion of this paper was opened by Professor Julia Harwood Caverno, of Smith College. Miss Caverno emphasized the need of special adaptation of the methods of the League to the less centralized schools of New England; and in this connection also suggested that the meetings of the Western Massachusetts Section might be planned to interest not only classical teachers, but all persons who have kept an interest in Greek and Roman literature or art.

Minnesota

Minneapolis Central High School.—The very ghost of Caesar himself visited the Latin Club at the meeting on the twelfth of November. In the fine little play that was given, Kathleen Schnepfer, as the sleepy girl who hated Latin, hated Caesar's *Commentaries*, hated it all, sat up and took notice and made some interesting discoveries when that low-voiced, mysterious ghost, in the person of Elvene Winkelman, appeared. Of course, nothing disastrous happened; the ghost was very friendly and disappeared quite as suddenly as he had come. Then, too, there was a Latin poem given by Mary Conroy. But, thanks to somebody's ingenuity, it was the kind of Latin we have no trouble translating. The meeting was very interesting, and everybody had a good time.

Nebraska

The Latin Section of the Nebraska State Teachers' Association met in Omaha November 8. An unusually large number of teachers were present. The following program was given: "The Latin Teacher's Present Opportunity," Olivia Pound, Lincoln; Discussion, Susan Paxson, Omaha; "The Aeneid—The World's Classic," Lulu E. Wirt, Kearney; "The Advantage of Teaching Latin in Elementary Schools," Mildred Butler, Lincoln; "Prose Composition," Lucy I. Peck, Franklin.

The keynote of the meeting seemed to be the desire to make the most of the unusual growth of Latin classes during the present year. One teacher reported that in a school of 1,400 pupils, 437 are taking Latin, 276 are taking German, 114 are studying French, and 100 are studying Spanish.

Much enthusiasm was aroused for the April meeting of the Classical Association which will be held in Omaha. The officers of the Latin Section of the Nebraska State Teachers' Association for next year are: President, Miss Susan Paxson, of Omaha; Secretary, Miss Lucy I. Peck, of Franklin Academy.

New York

A Latin Conference at Vassar College.—A conference of the Latin departments of Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley was held at Vassar College on Saturday, November 3. Mount Holyoke was represented by Professors Hoag, Taylor, and Waites; Smith, by Professors Brady, Gragg, and McIlwain; Wellesley, by Professors Hawes, Walton, and Fletcher; and Vassar, by all the members of its Latin department. The conference happened as a direct consequence of correspondence about the report of the Commission of the College Entrance Examination Board dealing with the form of defining requirements in Latin for entrance to college, which report raised specific objection to the new plan of admission recently adopted by the four colleges mentioned above. When it was ascertained that these colleges were in substantial agreement in their intention to continue the usual method of prescribing certain portions of the works of certain authors, it was suggested that a fuller agreement and a better understanding of the situation might be reached more quickly and effectively by a conference.

Three sessions were held, the subject for discussion at the morning session being "The Required or Freshman Latin Course." A comparison of such courses in various colleges was presented, with regard to the authors read, by Professor Brady, of Smith, and with regard to Latin composition by Professor Fletcher, of Wellesley. During the course of the discussion it was suggested that each college prepare two specimen courses—one for students who intend to go on with Latin and a second course for those who do not; in this way it might be possible to recognize more fully the claims of the latter class. The question of honor sections and the results of dividing large classes on a basis of scholarship was presented by Professor Palmer, of Vassar, who gave an account of certain experiments attempted at Vassar.

The afternoon session was devoted to the consideration of elective courses, the discussion being opened by Professor Hawes, of Wellesley. A great variety of topics were taken up, such as whether courses should be planned for a semester or for a year, whether they should be based on individual authors or literary periods, the need and character of courses for teachers, the lecture method, especially in connection with general courses in Latin literature, and rapid-reading and sight-reading courses. The question of private reading of authors was treated by Dr. Coulter, of Vassar, who pointed out the fact that the practice was not general in American colleges. The propriety of counting such work toward the A.B. degree in the case of able students was discussed. The members of the conference were disappointed that President MacCracken was unable to present a plea for courses in Late Latin.

At the evening session Professor Saunders, of Vassar, compared the value of marks given at the Regents' examinations and by the College Entrance Examination Board. The number of students entering by either mode was practically the same, but it was shown that the marks of the Board were a

much more reliable basis for predicting the marks of the Freshman year. Professor Taylor, of Mount Holyoke, discussed the three-unit entrance requirement for Latin, and Professor Walton, of Wellesley, reported on the recent proposal of the College Entrance Examination Board with regard to the definition of entrance requirements. At the close of the discussion following the report a statement was drawn by the conference setting forth the united opinion of the four colleges; and this statement will appear in the forthcoming catalogues as the preferred form of definition for the entrance requirements in Latin.

The conference was so far successful that the invitation of Professor Brady, of Smith, to hold the next meeting at that college was accepted with alacrity by all present.

Ohio

Cincinnati.—On Wednesday, October 10, there was organized the Classical Club of Cincinnati. The meeting was called by Dr. Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Cincinnati. Dr. John M. Burnam, professor of Latin at the University of Cincinnati, was elected the first president of the organization.

Dr. William James Battle, formerly of the University of Texas, is Dr. Joseph Harry's successor as professor of Greek at the University of Cincinnati.

Columbus.—The Columbus Latin Club began its ninth year with a luncheon at the Chittenden Hotel on Saturday, November 17. Dr. John A. Scott, head professor of Greek at Northwestern University, was the honored guest and speaker. His subject was "The Middle and Nearer East." Not only were the eighty members and guests present benefited by Dr. Scott's scholarly and entertaining address, but from the press notices and the splendid editorials of Colonel E. S. Wilson in the *Ohio State Journal* of November 19, Dr. Scott's address and thereby the value of the classics were brought to the notice of the general public.

As voted upon at the May meeting of last year, the members of the club are now pursuing the reading course as used by the New York State Readers League.

The officers of the club are: President, Harriet R. Kirby, North High School; Vice-President, Edith Daniels, Columbus School for Girls; Secretary-Treasurer, Edith S. Smith.

Springfield.—At the Central Ohio Teachers' Association, held at Springfield, Ohio, November 9, 1917, the following program was rendered at the meeting of the Latin Section with Mr. Charles B. Sayre, North High School, Columbus, in the chair: "The Thrill of the Classics," Miss Julia Bentley, head of the Latin department, Hughes High School, Cincinnati; "Round-

Table Experiences,"¹ Professor Frank J. Miller, The University of Chicago, managing editor of the *Classical Journal*.

Oregon

Portland.—A new school edition of Goethe's inimitable classic, *Hermann und Dorothea*, has just been published by Allyn & Bacon, of Boston. The editor is Miss Julianne A. Roller, of the Franklin High School in this city.

Hermann und Dorothea was the model for Longfellow's *Evangeline*. It is the product of the genius of the mature Goethe and ranks as his best work next to *Faust*. It gives a beautiful picture of sturdy German peasant life, and has for its background the hardships of those who fled from the fury of the mob in the French Revolution.

The editor, Miss Roller, has taught German and Latin at Franklin High School since the school was opened in February, 1914. She has a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts degree from the University of Wisconsin and is a member of the honorary fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa. Before coming to Portland Miss Roller taught in the University of Wisconsin High School, the La Crosse, Wisconsin, State Normal School, and Miss Hamlin's School in San Francisco. She is also secretary of the Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States and an associate editor of the *Classical Journal*.

Wisconsin

The University of Wisconsin.—The department of classics announced lectures and readings on the Greek drama by Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, and Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University, as follows: By Professor Capps: "Greek Tragedy and Aeschylus," November 22; "Greek Tragedy and Euripides," November 23; by Professor Allinson: "The *Oedipus the King* of Sophocles," December 17; "The *Clouds* of Aristophanes," December 18.

¹Owing to an unfortunate error in the announcement of the program, causing the delayed arrival of the speaker, this address was not given.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

Morton William Easton, professor of English and comparative philology at the University of Pennsylvania, died on August 21. He first studied medicine at Columbia University, but later specialized in Sanskrit under Whitney, at Yale. In 1873 he went to the University of Tennessee to teach the classics, and in 1880 to the University of Pennsylvania. Here in 1886 he directed the *Acharnians*, the first Greek comedy to be presented in this country. See Hains, "The Presentation of Classical Plays," *Classical Journal*, IX, No. 5, p. 197.

William Addison Houghton, since 1907 emeritus professor of Latin at Bowdoin College, died October 23. Finishing at Andover in 1869 he passed on to Yale, being graduated there in 1873. After graduation he became principal of the preparatory department at Olivet College, in Michigan, and in 1875 he returned to Yale as tutor in Latin. In 1877 he went to the Imperial University at Tokyo, Japan, as professor of English literature, and there he remained five years. Then after a year's study in Berlin he returned to this country and taught English and also Latin at New York University. In 1892 he was appointed Winkley professor of the Latin language and literature at Bowdoin College. He was well known for his labors in connection with the American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

The second portion of the library of Frank B. Sanborn was dispersed at auction by Libbie, of Boston, November 14-15, 1917. This library was rich in association volumes recalling the anti-slavery agitation preceding Civil War days. There were many classical books bearing the signatures of Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Sanborn, who were intimate friends of John Brown and active helpers in many of his schemes. The classical books give interesting evidence of the vitality of classical studies of the period and are not confined to classical authors. Thus, to take an example at random, there was a copy of Faber's *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae*, "F. B. Sanborn, Ex Dono Theo. Parkeri, 1859." Following the Harpers Ferry incident, John Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859, and Sanborn decided that now he might wisely take unto himself the advice that Socrates had once proffered to a friend: σοὶ δέ, ὦ Κοιτόβουλε, συμβουλεύω ἀπεναντίσαι (cf. Xenophon *Memorabilia* i. 3. 96). Sanborn took the next "underground" train for Canada, and

one of his early acts on arriving there was to purchase a book, a classical book, none other than Lucan's *Pharsalia*. This small volume, which, by the irony of fate, now reposes on the shelves of a man of rebel extraction, contains the following note by Sanborn: "Jan'y 31, 1860, Bought and read in Montreal during a residence there to avoid arrest." "Bought and read," note you. That the *second* part of this statement is true even the most unregenerate rebel would be forced to admit, because of the markings and jottings from one end to the other.

For some time there has been a movement on foot for gathering together books to be turned over eventually to the University of Louvain, to replace in some slight degree the irreparable loss suffered by that ancient university. As a contribution to this worthy cause there has recently been purchased by subscriptions in Britain the admirable collection of the late Professor H. M. Gwatkin, Dixie professor of ecclesiastical history and fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. These books passed into the hands of the well-known Cambridge dealers, W. Heffer and Sons, and they decided first to offer for a limited period certain portions *en bloc* in order thereby to preserve intact certain collections amassed in the course of a lifetime by a specialist. The fields of church history and mediaeval history were particularly well covered, and it is peculiarly fitting that such a collection should pass to Louvain, about which there cluster so many memories of mediaeval times. Then, too, one thinks of the early days of the Reformation and of the gentle scholar Erasmus, whose quiet but all-pervading influence had prepared men's minds for the coming change. "Erasmus laid the egg," said the wits of the day, "but Luther hatched it"; and in vain did the cautious scholar insist that his egg had been merely a hen's egg and that the fowl of Luther's hatching was of a different kind. The name of Erasmus is intimately associated with that of Louvain, where he was often engaged in his studies, and it was at Cambridge that he finished the collation of the New Testament which was later to be issued from the press of Froben, at Basel. In Queen's College, Cambridge, there is preserved to this day, I believe, the great scholar's corkscrew, but I have never found any notice as to what hurried egress should have resulted in the leaving behind of such a necessary scholastic appurtenance. Here I am reminded of an amusing passage in one of Roger Ascham's letters of somewhat later date wherein he describes a visit to Louvain and its university:

I went to P. Nannius's chamber, to have talked with him; but he was either drunken at home, or drinking abroad; for he was making merry, and would not be seen, as an English boy, his pupil, told me. He reads Tully's *Orations* at nine of the clock: at one of the clock, Theodoricus Laudius read (whom I heard) *Oed. Tyr. Sophocl. Graece*. He read that chiding place betwixt Oedipus and Creon beginning at οὐκ οἶδ'· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ μὴ φρονῶ σιγᾶν φιλῶ, reading twenty-one verses. His hearers, being about eighty, did knock him out with such a noise as I have not heard. This college is called *Trilingue et Buslidianum*, where he read. If Louvain, as far as I could mark,

were compared with Cambridge, Trilingue with St. John's or Trinity, Theod. Laudius with Mr. Car, ours do far excell. The reader, in *α*, followed our pronunciation [Ed. Giles, I, 248].

Compare also a letter to Sir John Cheke: "Lovanii fuimus, sed non diutius quam prandii apparatus postulabat: audivi tamen integram horam in trilingui collegio insignem ut illi putant virum Theodoricum Laudium profitentem *Tyrannum* Sophoclis; sequutus est in omni nostram pronuntiationem. Si hic cum Carro nostro, aut Lovinium cum Cantabrigia, conferretur, plane friget" (Giles, I, 217). This same letter contains entertaining remarks on German professors and libraries. In conclusion, we may note that the Gwatkin collection had been procured for the University of Michigan, but the American university most generously withdrew its previous order in favor of the proposed gift to Louvain.

Under normal conditions the recent quadricentennial of the posting of Luther's *Theses* on the church door at Wittenberg would have been more widely heralded in the public press. But within the countries now at war with Germany Luther was inevitably brought under the odium of Teutonic nationality, and under these circumstances there has been a strong tendency to bring into relief the least commendable traits of his character. There has been some scattered discussion as to the possible relation of the present German theory of the state with the teaching of Luther, and, as would be expected in times of intense feeling, extreme views have been upheld. Champions, to be sure, have not been lacking, who have striven to show that not Luther but Machiavelli has been the source from which German political thought has derived its inspiration. Thus the Dean of the Yale Divinity School is quoted as maintaining that "the very spirit of autocracy which Luther fought with all his might is now in the saddle in Germany and is riding that country for a terrible fall." Others, however, exultantly find a parallel (connected, shall we say, in defiance of the mathematical definition?) between the ruthlessness displayed by Luther during the Peasants' War and that practiced by his countrymen of the present day. A more pertinent question for the classical student is Luther's attitude toward humanism. On entering the University of Erfurt in preparation for his proposed course in law he studied the scholastic philosophy; but as a student he seems to have displayed little interest in the new humanities that were still very slowly forcing their way into the universities of the north. Latin, of course, was the universal language of the student, but the universities for the most part were dominated by narrow theologians who often scorned the thought of following the strict rules of grammar. There were doctors at Paris who maintained that *ego amat* was just as correct as *ego amo*. But many young men of spirit were fired with zeal for the New Learning, among whom certainly the most picturesque was that knight-errant, Ulrich von Hutten. Many students on their return home from the Italian universities were deter-

mined to spread abroad the new ideas, but the lot of these pioneers was a difficult one. In some cases these men were attached to the German universities, but they were hampered on every side. "The biography of the first scholars who attempted, by public instruction, to disseminate a taste for classical literature in the great schools of Germany, exhibits little else than a melancholy series of wanderings and persecutions—abandoning one university only, in general, to be ejected from another" (Sir William Hamilton, *Edinburgh Review* [1841], p. 182). Even after allowing for the exaggeration of satire, we may conclude that the German degree was lightly regarded in Italy. "Ego audivi ab amico meo quod quando stetit Bononiae, tunc vidit quod omnes magistri artium ex Alimania deponerentur tanquam beani, et simplicia supposita non: Quia in Italia habetur pro vituperio quando aliquis est promotus in Alimania in magistrum vel bacularium. . . . Ergo vellem quod omnes universitates facerent in simul et concluderent omnes poetas et humanistas, quia destruunt universitates" (*Epistolae obscurorum virorum* ii. 59). On another occasion an old-timer recalls the good old days when students paced the streets bearing under arm *Petrus Hispanus*, or the *Parva logicalia*, or, if they were grammarians, Alexander's *Doctrinale*, the *Vade mecum*, the *Exercitium puerorum*, or Sinthen's *Dicta*. But now instead they attend lectures on Virgil and Pliny and other "new authors" (cf. *EOV* ii. 46). A new spirit of inquiry was in the air, and a tendency to question authority was characteristic of the humanists. It was amid such surroundings that Luther suddenly gave up his preparation for the law and became a monk. The cause of this extraordinary step is difficult of explanation. That a recalcitrant "poet" should go over to the enemy seems incredible unless one is prepared to believe that he set out with the fixed purpose to beard the lion in his own den. The protagonist of humanism in the north at this time was of course Erasmus, and in any attempt to estimate the attitude and attainments of his contemporaries there is an overpowering impulse to use him as the criterion. In his eyes the touchstone of the love of letters was devotion to Greek, and in this field Luther's knowledge was very limited. But suddenly Luther stood forth as the incarnation of the skeptical spirit of the age and there flocked to his side a determined band of iconoclastic devotees. Clerical abuses had been boldly assailed by Erasmus in his books, and it is by no means improbable that from him Luther first took his cue. Be that as it may, Luther evidently expected Erasmus now to enter the arena and to take part in the rough-and-tumble fray; but nothing was farther removed from the intention of the retired scholar than the thought of such a thing. He was by nature a man of peace, and he thought that reform should come through the proper authoritative channels. He approved Luther's views about the need of reform, but he abhorred mob violence even though the law might work slowly and imperfectly. He was quite justified in his fear that the monks might confound Luther's violence with the cause of letters so dear to his own heart. In vain did he strive to force a recognition of

distinction, and the two reformers themselves became more and more estranged. It is the old story of apparent contrast between the man of thought and the man of action who in fact are supplementary to each other. Again and again the cry goes up from Erasmus that Luther is unintentionally playing into the hands of the opposition who would destroy letters. This leads Erasmus perhaps to undervalue Luther's literary attainments, and in a famous letter (*Le Clerc* ccclxxvii) he maintains that the outcry against Luther had been raised "because they believe him to be learned in our sense of the word, though in reality he is so only to a small degree." This same fear for the fortune of literature led him to shun intimacy with Reuchlin, about whose scholarship there could be no question, who was hated merely "because he knows the languages." "To know Greek is heresy," "To speak with a good accent is heresy," exclaims the cultivated scholar in his own defense. The worst epithets that the monks could apply to him were "poet" and "orator." The upshot of the matter would seem to be that undoubtedly the *fons et origo* of Luther's actions should be recognized in the doctrines of the new humanism which, however contrary to the spirit of humanism, he would thrust violently upon the world. Having once made up his mind as to what he conceived to be right in matters of belief, he resorted to the then existing unhumanistic method of forcing his opinions upon all alike. De Laur is quite right in pointing out that Luther was revolutionary and sectarian, while Erasmus was philosophic and liberal (*Érasme* ii. 430 ff.). I think that we may justly conclude that Erasmus more nearly represents the humanistic ideal, which is far from denying, however, that Luther, the man of action, accepting many of its essential features but insisting on immediate results, has brought us perceptibly nearer to the coveted goal.

Book Reviews

Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus. The text of Oehler annotated, with an Introduction, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR: with a Translation by ALEX. SOUTER. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Putnam, 1917. 8vo, pp. xx+496. \$3.75.

The late Professor Mayor, of Cambridge University (†1910), was wont to lecture on Tertullian's *Apology*, and as early as 1893 began to publish in the (English) *Journal of Philology* his accumulated notes on that treatise. The publication of them ceased with the fifth chapter of the *Apologeticus*, but the accumulation went on until nearly the end of his life. Professor Souter, a former pupil of his, then undertook the pious task of arranging and editing the whole, with the addition of a translation from his own pen. The notes are in great part a *catena* of quotations, or mere citations, of parallel and illustrative passages from ancient authors, with many references also to modern critical and historical writings. They are substantially improved by the editor's additions and corrections. Professor Mayor modestly spoke of his work as a supplement to such a regular commentary as that of Havercamp or of Oehler, but it evidently furnishes by far the richest available mine of learning in the field concerned. It is just a trifle amusing to read Professor Mayor's encouragement to the study of the Church Fathers partly on the ground that the perusal is so much easier than that of some classical literature, and then to find Professor Souter remarking that Tertullian "is the most difficult of all Latin prose writers." Both the exhortation of the older scholar and the judgment of the younger are quite justified.

The proffered translation is of course excellent and extremely welcome: but it is rather difficult to render adequately into so restrained a language as English the tumultuous and impassioned oratory of Tertullian. Professor Joseph B. Mayor has suggested to the editor a number of emendations of the Latin text, while others are supplied by himself, but by no means all of them seem necessary or really tempting. Especially the use by the Fathers of *praedicare* in the sense of *praedicere* is so well established that it surely is not requisite to strain such examples out (pp. 71, 73). *Ipsa* (J. B. M.) for *ipse* in the first line of c. 39 must certainly be rejected, the *ipse* being particularly in point with what follows. Tertullian's own treatise (c. 21 *de Christo ut deo*) might well have been specifically cited in support of the emendation in c. 2 of *Christo et deo* to *Christo ut deo*, which was early suggested on the basis of Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 *Christo quasi deo* as well as of Eusebius. In c. 1 (p. 4, l. 12)

castella means clearly "hill-villages," as distinct from settlements in the lowlands (*in agris, in castellis*). That is its frequent meaning in classical Latin as well (e.g., in Caesar, Cicero, Livy), though the ordinary dictionaries, I believe, do not usually recognize it. If these villages were artificially "walled," that was only an incident of their character; the description as *castella* refers solely to their natural defenses of situation (cf. the modern Italian "castelli Romani"). Professor Souter does well in not adopting the emendation suggested by Professor J. B. Mayor of *scelerum* to *scelera* in c. 2 *fin.* (p. 12, l. 18), and in making the sentence an indignant assertion rather than, with the text, a question. But *ipsis nominibus* is clearly "specific names" rather than "mere names." In c. 5 (p. 18, l. 29) does not *periculum* mean "prosecution" rather than merely "danger," just as M. Aurelius threatened or punished the complainants against Christians (*ibid.*, p. 20, l. 15)? Why read *patris nostri* in c. 9 (p. 30, l. 17) in place of *patriae nostrae* (= *Africae proconsularis*)? There seems to be insufficient reason for preferring *producto aeuo* (J. E. B. M., p. 58, l. 13) to *producto aeuo*, which appears itself to mean "at the end of time." In c. 34 (p. 100, l. 26) Professor Souter's rendering is more felicitous as a parallel than exact as a translation; "of course I shall call the emperor lord, but with the usual spelling, and only when I am not forced to call him Lord with a capital, in place of God." But Tertullian simply says, "I will certainly call the emperor Lord, but according to the current use of the title, not as compelled to set him by the title of Lord in the place of God." It is of course well known that *domine* had been for more than a century an ordinary form of respectful address even between civic equals, and not merely from a subject to the emperor, as Pliny uses it to Trajan. It is as a fact more nearly "Sir" than "Lord" in what Tertullian calls *mos communis*. Of the meaning assigned by Professor Souter to *quibusdam gradu pulsus* in c. 2 (p. 8, l. 1), "and having dislodged others from the stand they had taken up," I have been tempted to speak at some length in an article ("Tertullian on Pliny's Persecution of Christians") that I trust will soon appear in the *American Journal of Theology*.

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Gaius Verres: An Historical Study. By FRANK HEWITT COWLES.
(Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, XX.) Cornell University, 1917. Pp. 207. \$1.50.

The author is led to make this study in view of the great historical importance of the Verrine series. The life of Verres is treated chronologically down to the time of his entrance upon his governorship of Sicily. Thereafter the subject is treated topically, and the present state of scholarship on each topic discussed is offered. With this arrangement in view, the chapters naturally fall into the same order as the speeches prepared by Cicero for delivery at the trial.

The author gives the impression in the Preface that there are two subjects upon which he has labored with perhaps greater seriousness than upon the remainder of the book. These are the sections dealing with the "De Signis" and with the chronology of the year 70 B.C.

The book is well written, has an interesting style, and leaves one with a very clear impression of the many misdeeds of Verres committed during his three years in Sicily. Each statement is sustained by the appropriate reference to Cicero's *Orations*, for the sources outside of these orations are very few. Where necessary, the charges made by Cicero and technical terms used by him are examined in the light of present-day scholarship.

The chapter entitled "De Signis" is particularly interesting from the point of view of a careful consideration of the knowledge and appreciation of art by Verres. The part of the chapter dealing with Cicero's aesthetic knowledge is scarcely new and contains nothing that differs materially from the conclusions of recent critics. The evidence that Verres stood higher as a connoisseur of art than did Cicero seems conclusive.

In the matter of bibliography Dr. Cowles should have cited the third edition of Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration* instead of the second. Greenidge's *Legal Procedure* was actually published in 1894; the 1901 impression was merely a reprint. It would have been advisable to add three other works to the bibliography, namely, Hardy, *Six Roman Laws* (for a discussion of the *Lex Acilia*); Zumpt, *Römisches Kriminalrecht*; and the article by Greenidge called "The Provocatio Militiae and Provincial Jurisdiction" in *Classical Review*, X, 225-33. There might have been a reference to my book, *The Prosecution of Jesus*, on the subjects covered on pages 30, 136, and elsewhere.

It is almost a pity that after the excellent historical chapters were completed the author attempted to treat the trial as a legal problem. The ground upon which he is treading is less firm than he seems to realize. There are many exceedingly doubtful places which are passed over sketchily in such a way as to indicate that the principles are well established. In the first place, one who is not technically trained in the Roman Law would scarcely understand from the book that the trial of Verres was a criminal case. The crime of which Verres was accused is still a debatable question. The title of the court in which the case was heard was *Quaestio de Repetundis*, and the name clearly implies that the action, at least historically, was for the recovery of money illegally received. Now the course of trial involved a complete review of the praetorship of Verres in the city and a full statement of punishments inflicted upon Roman citizens of Sicily. This matter introduced by Cicero was either absolutely extraneous or formed part of the accusation. If it formed part of the accusation, the crime with which Verres was charged must have been malfeasance in office. This difficulty should at least have been mentioned by our author.

There are several equally doubtful points in the legislation upon the subject of *repetundae*. The case against the governors of Spain in 171 B.C. (Livy 43. 2) is sufficient to show that at that time the form of trial was purely a civil process and not criminal. So, too, with the *Lex Calpurnia* of 149 B.C., which provided merely restitution *in simplum* (*Lex Acilia* 1. 59). Notwithstanding the statement made by Dr. Cowles, this law was regarded by the Romans as the first law definitely upon the subject (Cicero *De off.* ii. 21. 75).

The *Lex Acilia* itself is the first law in this series that implicitly regards the offense committed as a crime, for it provided recovery *in duplum* (see Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 420). That this is true is also shown by the fact that practically for the first time in Roman history conviction entailed *infamia* (see Greenidge, *Infamia*, pp. 11, 31, 155). The most peculiar feature of the *Lex Servilia*, *comperendinatio*, should have been explained. In the treatment of the *Lex Cornelia*, the statement that jurisdiction was transferred to the senators is doubtful, inasmuch as criminal jurisdiction, in general, had been in the hands of the senators for ten years previous. If Dr. Cowles is right in his statement, the composition of the juries introduced in this instance by Sulla simply followed the precedent already established in other criminal courts. Dr. Cowles follows Zumpt and Halm in holding that the penalty prescribed by Sulla was a restitution of two and one-half times the amount illegally taken. This explains very well the apparently contradictory statements made by Cicero, but it is in contradiction to the general spirit of Sulla's legislation, which was distinctly favorable to the aristocrats (cf. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 709).

The treatment of the *Divinatio* is admirable, and the remainder of this chapter gives a careful consideration of the facts definitely connected with the trial. Some errors occur in the chapter. On page 169 Dr. Cowles says that Glabrio was *Praetor Urbanus* for the year 70. That is quite impossible or he would not have been the presiding judge in this case. On page 180 the term "new praetor" occurs twice, where the author has been somewhat careless in his use of terms. He means "new governor." On page 169 the statement is made that the "*Lex Cornelia* had not provided a public prosecutor," as if this were something especially to be commented upon. Undoubtedly the author is well aware that there was no public prosecutor in any criminal court in Rome. The statement made on page 180 that only the credentials furnished by Glabrio made it possible for Cicero to procure as many witnesses as he did would be untrue if one could prove the doctrine frequently held that the *Lex Cornelia* made the evidence of provincials obligatory.

The chronology of the year 70 B.C. is examined with good judgment and clearness. One is impressed, however, with the inevitable conclusions that no new evidence is forthcoming and that little new light can be shed upon the dark places of the evidence already known. For this reason the author is forced back almost to the chronology of Zumpt and Halm. One is left with a feeling

of disappointment that the famous bugbear *in diem* is still unexplained, although it is certain that the problem will remain until an adequate explanation of that phrase is forthcoming.

R. W. HUSBAND

STATE HOUSE
Concord, New Hampshire

Across the Years. By CHARLES ERNEST BENNETT, of Amherst College. Boston: The Stratford Co. 12mo, pp. ix+57. \$1.00 net.

This is another little book which aims, like Professor Nixon's *A Roman Wit*, to make some of the Latin poetry, usually read in schools and colleges, seem more real, more *alive*, to the average twentieth-century boy or girl. The reason for the choice of this title for a book of this sort is explained in the publishers' advertisement: "These translations, or rather adaptations, enable us to hold out our hand across the centuries, and to clasp the warm hand of our deathless fellowmen."

The volume contains more than a score of poems, nearly all of them being from Catullus or Horace. The whole of Catullus' longest poem, 64, is given. The *Pervigilium Veneris* is also translated in full, and there is a fragment from Accius and a selection from the *Mosella* of Ausonius.

A great many of the pieces contain colloquial and slang expressions, as advertised. There is one in the negro dialect, one in Italian-American. "Local color" occurs in some places, for example, in the poem in which Horace (*Odes* i. 8) appeals to "Liddy" to cease working her wiles upon "Sybie."

Then cease to give him such a dance,
Where'er your idle fancy leads him;
He needs athletics, not romance,
Not evening clothes, but running pants.
Leave him alone—give him a chance;
The Amherst track team needs him!

The entire work is excellently done and much of it is really good poetry. For instance, Catullus, 64, and the *Pervigilium Veneris* are about as closely rendered as they could be, and the translations are poetry. Professor Bennett read some of these translations and parodies at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England last March, greatly to the delight of those in attendance. At that time many members of the Association expressed to the present writer the wish that the translations might be published. The wish has been quickly granted!

M. N. W.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions. By LINDLEY RICHARD DEAN. Princeton: 1916. 8vo, pp. 321.

This doctor's dissertation of Princeton deserves mention as a good example of one of the many different kinds of studious compilations from the *CIL* which must be carried out to help in making that vast amount of material more readily useful for special purposes. It gives an alphabetical list of the *cognomina* of the specified class, accompanied by indications of the rest of the name of the soldier, his specific service, his nativity, the date of the inscription, and the place where it was found, or as many of these items as can be determined. In addition there are chapters on the more common *cognomina*, one by one, and on other pertinent classifications of them. Desirable additions would have been complete classified lists according to legion, nativity, and provenience of inscription, but these would have increased greatly the bulk of an already considerable volume, and augmented materially the already sufficient toil of a doctorand.

E. T. M.

Value of the Classics. Edited by ANDREW F. WEST, Dean of the Graduate College, Princeton University. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 12mo, pp. 396. Cloth, \$1.50; boards, \$1.00.

A real review of this book, within the limit that could be allowed by the *Journal*, is impossible. This is intended merely as a notice to bring the volume to the attention of our readers and to give some slight information about its contents to those who have not yet seen the volume itself.

It is a record of the addresses delivered at the Conference on Classical Studies in Liberal Education, held at Princeton, June 2, 1917, together with a collection of the opinions of many eminent men, and of statistics, which show the exact status of Latin at the present time. The book has three main divisions: I, *Introduction*, a masterly review of the whole case for Latin, by Dean West; II, *Addresses at the Conference*, occupying ninety pages. From the shorest, a telegram from Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway, to the longest, by Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts, they are all of great excellence, all are most helpful and encouraging to classical teachers at this time; III, *Statements*, which are subdivided, as follows: (1) "Public Life"; (2) "Business"; (3) "Universities and Colleges"; (4) "Schools"; (5) "The Ministry"; (6) "Law"; (7) "Medicine"; (8) Engineering"; (9) "Physical and Natural Sciences"; (10) "Editors"; (11) "Modern Literature"; (12) "History, Political Science, Economics, Philosophy, Sociology"; (13) "Fine Arts"; (14) "Oriental Studies."

To give all the names of the contributors, allowing only one line to a name, requires four pages, with two columns to a page. This means that a goodly

number of the most distinguished men and of the greatest scholars of the country have done their part toward helping the cause of the classics, by expressing their firm belief in the lasting value of Greek and Latin in any system of education that is worthy of the name. A noteworthy fact is that opinions are given from four men who have held the office of president of the United States: Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Grover Cleveland.

The Conference and this volume have done a great service for our cause. In these times, when classical teachers are so often called upon to give a reason for their existence, it is a fine thing to have ready at hand these manifold arguments and opinions. It is a book which no one of us can afford to be without.

M. N. W.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

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F. J. M.

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